

FOUNDERS OF VIJAYANAGARA

BY

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FOUNDATION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE AND VIDYĀRANYA'S PART THEREIN

Prefatory Note

I WAS invited to deliver a course of five special lectures, on the subject of the foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagara and the part played by the celebrated sage Vidyāranya in the foundation of that great Hindu Empire of the South, by the authorities of the Annāmalai University in October 1930. On my return after completing these obligations, I read a paper on Vidyāranya and Vijayanagara before the Mythic Society of Bangalore. More than a year later, the authorities of the Mysore University desired me to give the substance of these lectures in a popular form as extension lectures under their auspices at Mysore and Bangalore.

Several publications in book-form and articles in historical periodicals have appeared since my address to the students at Annāmalainagar. In the pages that follow, I have retained the original form of the lectures as delivered under the auspices of the Annāmalai University but I have endeavoured to embody and incorporate, as far as possible, the additional materials and criticisms that have become available during the past few years.

I am obliged to the authorities of the Annāmalai University for their kindly granting me permission to print the lectures delivered under their auspices.

S. SRIKANTAYA.

Introductory

The subject of the early history of the Vijayanagara Empire continues to be of entrancing interest to this day. The foundation of Vijayanagara in 1336 A.D., during the reign of Edward III in England, changed the political fortunes of Southern India for roughly two centuries. The lessons of the experience of Hindu princes in the North were not lost upon the peoples and rulers of the kingdoms in Southern India where warlike feeling largely existed, and a gigantic effort was made to stem the tide of Muhammadan invasion and conquest of the South. Harihara's Empire grew to vast dimensions in the time of his successors and, in their day, Vijayanagara Emperors ruled over a country far larger than Austria and their capital was incomparable for wealth and magnificence. The trade of the Empire was sought after and coveted by the leading nations of the world and there are accounts left by ambassadors and travellers to the Court of Vijayanagara which are of surpassing interest.

The origin of this Empire was first dealt with by the ever-indefatigable Sewell, father of Vijayanagara history. The work has been taken up by several other distinguished scholars and there has been a very large output of literature on this fascinating subject. The number of available inscriptions is vast, particularly in the Mysore State. The literature of the period contains a mine of valuable information and of the standard works on the history of the Vijayanagara Empire, the latest are the valuable compilations by Rev. Father Heras of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

Tradition and authentic history give varying versions regarding the origin of the Empire of Vijayanagara and they will be considered in detail in the course of these lectures. It is generally believed that Mādhavācārya, the celebrated scholar and pontiff of the Sringeri Maṭha, was responsible for the foundation of this Empire. Another school regards Harihara and Bukka as feudatories of the last great Hoysala, Ballāla III. They, with the help of the Hoysala Emperor

and of other rulers in the South, established an empire. Some consider them as Muhammadan vassals sent to subjugate Ballāla III and conquer the Karnāṭaka country and as later on usurping authority taking advantage of the disturbed conditions in the locality. There are yet others according to whom, Hariharā and Bukka were guards in the treasury of Pratāpa Rudra Deva of Wārangal and after his death at the hands of the Muhammadans, fled and ultimately founded a kingdom. During recent years, there have been still others who consider Anegondi and Kampili chiefs as having provided the future rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire.

The origin of Vijayanagara may not have been a miracle. It may have been the result of a supreme Hindu effort, in order to protect their religion, their *dharma* and their country and to provide a bulwark against the devastating Muhammadan hordes from the north of India. The Hoysala ruler Ballāla III may have established the Empire for the purpose and carried on his campaigns against the Muhammadans till he fell fighting in 1342 A.D. Princes of other ruling dynasties in the South may have helped him in this endeavour. The perturbed condition of the Muhammadan Empire in the North may have contributed towards the successes achieved in the South against the Muhammadan armies. The Shia Muhammadans in the Deccan may have proved troublesome to the Sultanate at Delhi and assisted the Hindu Rajas in the South. The rising sons of Sangama may have continued the work of consolidating Hindu authority and of preserving Hindu religion and *dharma* south of the Vindhya, enabled thereto by the towering personality of the scholar-statesman Mādhavācārya, known to the world as Vidyāranya Śripāda of the Advaita Maṭha at Sringeri. The latter may have been the cementing factor amongst the several kings in the South and the people of varied faiths.

How far the Vijayanagara dynasty, whether of Kannada or Telugu origin, was an indigenous and independent one, owing no fealty to any one, or as subordinate to any other ruler, be he the Hoysala Ballāla of Dorasamudra, the Kākatiya Pratāpa

Rudra Deva of Wārangal, Rāmadeva of Deogiri or Daulatabad, Raja of Anegondi, Kampila or Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kummatadurga, requires investigation. We have, further, to find out if Harihara and Bukka had been sent by the Sultan of Delhi against Ballāla III and whether, on his defeat, they usurped the country for themselves. And finally, what, if any, part did Vidyāranya or the Gurus of the Sringeri Maṭha play in assisting in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire ?

I propose, in the course of these lectures, to give an account of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire with reference to the above topics. The consideration of the part played by Mādhavācārya necessarily involves a detailed discussion of the various traditions, chronicles and inscriptions which mention his connection with the origin of the Sangama dynasty. A number of inscriptions is said to be doubtful and a few spurious by several scholars and Rev. Fr. Heras goes farther than most others in this respect. In his view, practically all the inscriptions relating to the Vidyāranya tradition or to the connection of Vidyāranya with Harihara and Bukka in any Imperial or political undertaking are spurious and must at all events be looked upon with suspicion. Assuming the spurious nature of several of these inscriptions, it will still have to be considered whether the tradition contained in them is also false. Would the Gurus of Sringeri Maṭha be responsible for these forgeries ? How far can we condemn grants and inscriptions of such public institutions ? Did the ascetic dwellers in the Maṭha at Sringeri take advantage of the situation arising out of the confusion in the Empire during the early years of the second Vijayanagara dynasty and augment their position and importance ? The Gurus of Sringeri have all along been known for their piety, religion and *dharma*; their scholarship and learning are unrivalled. Did one of them, Rāmacandra Bhārati Svāmi, or others under his inspiration, get up false traditions, fabricate documents embodying these false traditions, in order to become Rāja Gurus and improve their position as *Karnāṭaka Simhāsana Pratisthāpanācāryas* ? Are the subsequent traditions, literary references and

inscriptional accounts connecting Vidyāranya with the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and describing the capital of the Empire as Vidyānagara traceable to the "false decretals" of this Sringeri "Nicholas"? I have gone through the entire range of available literature, inscriptional and otherwise, and I must admit I have not been able to find any justification for condemning the traditions as having been forged by the ascetic dwellers in Sringeri or elsewhere. Whether the Vidyāranya tradition be founded on fact or be a pure myth, it must have been there from the beginning. A sweeping statement attacking the Jagadgurus of Sringeri as devoid of all notions of honesty, truth, religion or *dharma* and as descending to fabricate records, if only to gain a profit thereby, provided others are not harmed by it, is entirely unmerited.

The existence of two Mādhabas in the early Vijayanagara history, one a disciple of Vidyāśankara and another belonging to the Kriyāśakti school of religious thought, both contemporaries, statesmen and learned scholars, has led to considerable confusion in identifying their works or achievements. This aspect of the question will also be considered to some extent.

Muhammadan Conquest of Northern India

NORTH INDIA BEFORE MUHAMMADAN RULE

To understand and appreciate the significance of the origin and foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagara in the south of India in its proper perspective, a short retrospect concerning the growth of Islam and the expansion of the Muhammadan power in Northern India is necessary. Both Northern and Peninsular India were well known for their trade; and intercourse between Africa, Europe and India both on sea and by overland routes was great. There is evidence that in the ninth century of the Christian era, even regarding those parts of India which the Greeks and the Romans were accustomed to visit, the Arabians had acquired more perfect information.¹ According to them, there was then a Muhammadan sovereignty, which was confined to the Arab Peninsula at the time of the Prophet's death in 632 A.D., spread to Syria and Egypt in half-a-dozen years thereafter, and in a short time the Persian Empire as far as Herat had become a part of the growing Empire of the Arabs. Before the close of the century, Northern Africa had been conquered by Muhammadan arms and with the fall of Spain in 713 A.D., the Muhammadans had been able to penetrate into the very heart of France whence they were turned back by Charles Martel in 732 A.D. There was, however, no echo of this remarkable insurrection in the India of the time and Hiuen Tsang does not allude to these events in his note on the political conditions. On the eve of the Arab invasion of India, its western borderland was dominated by the powerful Hindu Kingdoms of Kāpiśa in the North, Sindhu in the South and Tsao-kulā or Tsao-li between them. Sind adjoined Bannu which formed the southernmost part of the territories of the Kāpiśi ruler. Naturally therefore, the first shock of the Muhammadan invasions was equally felt at Kabul, Zabul and Sind. Half a century of unceasing effort upon Kabul and its neighbouring territory accomplished a nominal suzerainty imposed

¹ William Robertson, *A Historical Disquisition of India*, pp. 103-4.

by an occasional raid and levy of some tributes. Kabul remained long unconquered. Relations of the Arab with Sind led to more prolonged wars and more permanent results. Desertion in the army, constant strife with neighbouring kingdoms and the danger to the Brahmanical States from powerful Buddhist monks who held sway over districts were also among the causes.

Thus the Arab raids against the coast of India which commenced about 637 A.D., after alternating successes and failures, attained one successful result by the conquest of the Makran coast in the latter part of the 7th century. During the Caliphate of Umar II. the rulers of Sind like Jayasimha and others adopted the religion of the Prophet and assumed Arab names, retaining the thrones and enjoying the privileges and obligations of the Muslims. When later he apostatised, a battle followed and he was captured. The Muhammadan Governor of Sind extended his campaigns into the interior and several kingdoms on the right bank of the Indus came under his rule. The Nausari Plates (Gujrat) of the Cālukya Pulikesi, 738 A.D., refer to the Arab invasions and the defeat of the several kingdoms—Saindhavas, Kachchellas, Saurāṣtras, Charotakas, Mauryas and Gūrjaras. Then came a lull to the Muhammadan arms, due perhaps to the combined efforts of the Indian chiefs including the Pratihāra ruler Nāgabhaṭṭa and the Cālukyan Pulikesi and to a period of confusion in the Islamic State.

Three centuries of persistent effort, wonderful organisation of the Arabs, their superior knowledge and statesmanship, their method of warfare and their determination to carry on Islamic culture to distant lands achieved remarkable results throughout the world. Apart from any question of military superiority of the Arab in his conquest of India, sufficient has been said how it was not possible for the Hindu to keep off the invader for a time. Arab penetration further into the interior was checked by Nāgabhaṭṭa and Pulikesi. Iswari Prasad regards the Arab episode in India as a triumph without results, an unremunerative appanage which left only a few families and

settlements as a memorial of their conquest in India. For, "the absence of that bond of sympathy between the conqueror and the conquered, which arises from mutual confidence was a conspicuous feature of the Arab administration of India."

The next Muhammadan invaders of India were of a different type. In ferocity of temper and iconoclastic zeal the Turks were in strong contrast with the cultured Arabs and Persians. On the Malabar Coast there was an empire ruled by kings whose authority was paramount over that of every other power in India and, as we know, the East continued to be looked forward to for the supply of the luxuries which the West most needed, and this state of things lasted till the decay and disruption of the Vijayanagara Empire itself. The Genoese and the Florentines and, later, the Portuguese and the Dutch and, lastly, the French and the English were the competitors for capturing the trade of the East.

First Muhammadan Invaders

Long anterior to the introduction of the religion of the Prophet Muhammad into India, the trade between Arabia and Western India was extensive. The spirit of Islam breathed a new atmosphere into the Arabs who in a century managed to spread themselves far and wide throughout the world. The first country in India to fall into the hands of the Muhammadans was Sind.² Early in the eighth century, Muhammad, son of Kāsim, conquered Sind and firmly established the political predominance of Islam in that province. His rule over Sind, however, appears to have been just and sympathetic, under which the Hindus were allowed full religious freedom.³ A river formerly separated Sind from India and to the east of that river was the Gūrjara Kingdom of Bhinmal, united with Kanauj from the beginning of the ninth century. There were chronic hostilities between the neighbours, belonging to

² V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 430-31.

³ See Elliot, *His. of Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 185-86 *et seq.* Stanley Lanepoole, *Medieval India*, pp. 10-12. Iswari Prasad, *His. of Ind.*, p. 44.

the two different faiths. During the same period, however, down below on the west coast of India, which in the time of Sulaiman was flooded by Arab merchants, relations between the Muhammadans and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were cordial ; the Muhammadan was paying tribute to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.^{3a} One result, however, was the spread of the sciences of the East westwards, helped by the sword of Islam and the imperial instincts of the Arab.

In the North, Islam brought with it all the enthusiasm of a new religion⁴ with a simple and awe-inspiring system and all the energy of a fiercer race compared with the mild Hindu. The character of the early Muhammadan invasions into India was associated with a spirit of plunder, like the Mongol raids later on under Muhammadan rule. There was no idea of conquest or occupation of territory ; perhaps because by usurpation it was not possible—and it was known—to keep disorderly elements always under control. As Prof. Ratnaswamy says⁵— ‘ Nomads were the Muhammadan conquerors of India and nomadic was their rule. The impress of nomadism was felt in their government, their social life, their attitude to the country they invaded, and their relations with the people they brought under their subjection. It coloured their public and private life, prompted some of their most characteristic actions and policies, and determined the course of their career in the country..... It is the key to their history, because it was the spirit of their civilisation.’ To the Turk and Afghan rulers in India, war was the supreme happiness of life. Perhaps, that was the spirit of the times throughout the world.

The Samani dynasty founded the house of Ghazni which plays a prominent part in Indian history. Sabuktigin was

^{3a} *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Part 2, Chap. XI, p. 763. Muhammadan rulers of Sind were friends with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were the enemies of the Gūrjara Kings of Bhinmal.

⁴ *Historians' History of the World*, Vol. XXII, p. 21.

⁵ Q. J. M. S., Vol. IX, pp. 190–91. *Mysore University Magazine*, Vol. V, p. 223.

the Sultan of Ghazni, having married his master's daughter and been constituted as heir by him for the Ghazni province. The neighbourhood of a Muhammadan State alarmed the Hindus on the left bank of the Indus river. They had somewhat recovered themselves for some three centuries from the fears of the Arab invasions but could not forget the cruelty and oppression of their forefathers under the Arab yoke. Without waiting for an attack from Sabuktigin, the Hindu rulers formed a confederacy of States under the bold lead of Raja Jaipal of Lahore and marched against him. Sabuktigin and his son, the famous Sultan Mahmud met the combined Hindu forces on the field, and there were several skirmishes, followed by wind and rain and hailstorms. There was terrible disaster from which the Muhammadan armies recovered but the less hardy Hindus could not. Jaipal sued for peace undertaking to pay tribute and presents. However, he did not keep to it but ill-treated the messengers who came to recover the same. This led to another war in the course of which the kings of Delhi, Ajmir, Kālanjar and Kanauj with several others fought on the side of Jaipal. The Hindu armies 'appeared like the boundless ocean and in number like the ants and locusts in the wilderness'; but Sabuktigin defeated them all, got immense booty and plunder and was acknowledged king of the territory west of the upper Indus river. He died in 997 A.D. after a rule characterised by prudence, equity and

treasures removed, yet Hindus continued to hold positions of trust and responsibility under him and were prosperous.

Passing on from the expeditions of Mahmûd of Ghazni, which left no enduring impressions and results and after which the Hindu kings continued as disunited as ever, now that the fear of foreign invasion had passed away, to the next stage of conflict in North Indian history, we find the dynasty of Ghor play an important part in it. In this struggle, the Rajputs particularly distinguished themselves. The Hindu struggle for independence began again about 1179 A.D., under the lead of the Raja of Delhi and finally ended, after early successes, in the capture of the Hindu princes and their territories.¹⁵ The onward march of the Muhammadan received some checks, here and there as in Gujerat in 1178 A.D.¹⁶ But when the basin of the Indus was secured, further advances into the fertile plains of India became comparatively easy of accomplishment. The idolators were considered fit to be sent to hell according to the simple creed of the invaders and the tempting riches there were their legitimate prey.

The magnitude of the danger induced the Hindu rulers to leave aside their quarrels for the time and to organise a powerful expedition as their forefathers had previously done. In 1192 A.D. Prithvirâj led the resistance but was defeated, captured and executed.¹⁷ This was the fate of the most popular hero of Hindustan whose exploits form the subject-matter of local epics. In 1194 A.D., Raja Jaichand essayed to stem the torrent of Muhammadan ruthlessness and he too was among the slain.¹⁸ Delhi, Benares and other places also soon fell. This and almost the whole of the next century witnessed the conquest of several of the northern Hindu kingdoms of India, and any respite they had was owing either to rebellion here and there, quarrel for succession or the threatened invasions of the Mongol hordes from the north-western border, the most vulnerable part of the

¹⁵ Bev., I, p. 58.

¹⁶ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 218.

¹⁷ Bev., I, p. 60.

¹⁸ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 195.

Indian Empire. By 1236 A.D. the subjection of Hindustan was more or less complete. Muhammad Ghori may have been less fanatical and more politic than Sultan Mahmud: the people may have been under wise rule: but yet tribute and military service were exacted as the price of toleration. The Rajas and their subjects could not bear to see the Hindu kingdoms crumble away before their eyes, one after another.

The story of the Hindu defeat in Northern India has its lessons to tell. Iron discipline and unity of command are two essential factors for the success of an army in the field. The last great occasion when it was realised was in the Great War in Europe a few years ago. V. A. Smith says "No Hindu general in any age was willing to profit by experience and learn the lesson taught by Alexander's operations long ago. Time after time enormous hosts, formed of the contingents supplied by innumerable Rajas, and supported by the delusive strength of elephants, were easily routed by quite small bodies of vigorous western soldiers, fighting under one undivided command, and trusting chiefly to well-armed mobile cavalry. Alexander, Muhammad of Ghor, Babar, Ahmad Shah Durani, and other capable commanders, all used essentially the same tactics by which they secured decisive victories against Hindu armies of incredible numbers." The Hindu military system "broke down when pitted against the onslaughts of hardy casteless horsemen from the west," and "the Hindu defenders of their country, although fully equal to their assailants in courage and contempt of death, were distinctly inferior in the art of war and, for that reason, lost their independence." The same story marked the decay of the Vijayanagara Empire. It is an important point to consider how far a national militia raised in India on a non-caste basis will provide for its defence in the Indian Federation of the future.

SOUTH INDIA BEFORE THE MURAMMADAN INVASIONS

The current of events in Northern India ordinarily pursued its own course, unmindful of the trend of events in the far South, for generations. True, an Asoka or a Harsa expanded

his dominions across the Vindhya range but that was only once in a way. As regards the south, the kingdoms of the Deccan generally were confined to the frontiers of the Narmada and the Krishna, though occasionally there were rulers who made excursions into the rich plains of Āryāvarta and reached the banks of the Ganges. Hence, we find only internecine strife amongst the rulers of the south in their isolation. Of course, from time immemorial extensive foreign trade was carried on with Peninsular India by countries of Europe and Africa and of the Far East.

From the seventh century A.D. the Pallavas of Kāñchī overshadowed for several decades the ancient Pāṇḍya, Cola and Cera kingdoms.¹⁹ The royal line of the Kadambas held sway in the south-west for several decades. The Kadambas indeed do not disappear from history till the rise of Vijayanagara in the fourteenth century and it is conjectured they may have been related to the Vijayanagara rulers.²⁰ The Gangas were a powerful dynasty of rulers in Mysore. They were succeeded by the Hoysalas. In the eleventh century, the Colas became paramount in the south. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cālukyas after varying vicissitudes silently disappeared from history. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we find the Hoysala Empire predominant in the south of India. The Yādavas of Deogiri and the Kākatiyas of Wārangal rose into prominence on the break-up of the Cālukyan and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdoms.²¹

Side by side with the political revolutions in this part of India, there was going on silently, in varying degrees, a modification in religion, manners and art. But the never-ending dynastic conflicts were not however without their effects on the development of political institutions.

Trade and intercourse was free between Northern and Southern India, and travellers in pursuit of learning were large.

¹⁹ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 181.

²⁰ Rice, *Mysore & Coorg*, p. 28.

²¹ S. K. Aiyengar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, pp. 143–151.

The people in the south could not be unaware of the barbarities and cruelties inflicted upon their northern neighbours by the foreign invader and his hordes. These stories must even have circulated with much exaggeration in the Deccan. In spite of natural barriers, religious and philosophical movements of the south profoundly influenced the north and the tenets of Śankara and Rāmānuja had their supporters from the Cape to the snowy ranges of the Himalayas. Whatever diversity in blood, manners, language, customs and political allegiance, the ideals of religion as enjoined in the Śāstras tended to withstand powerful disintegrating forces amongst the Hindu people and make them unite against a common danger.

The persistent efforts of the Muhammadans to conquer all India and convert the people to the religion of the Prophet could not have been lost on the inhabitants and rulers in Southern India. Likewise, they must have known how very powerful organisations of the Hindus were, time and again, overthrown by the Muhammadan armies, with ruthless slaughter and complete plunder and ruin overtaking the people and the country in the north.

A glance at the political map of South India will reveal astonishing features and help to understand clearly the object of the Muhammadan conquerors of India at the time. An account of Indian history of this period is mainly the story of feudatories' families rising into power when the time was opportune. The assistance of neighbours was naturally forthcoming in anticipation of participating in the division of spoils, as a result of contest. This characteristic of South Indian history continued till the consolidation of British Dominion in the Deccan. With the extinction of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as victims of a domestic revolution, arose a scion of the Western Cālukyas and he acquired some prominence. In the fight between them and the Colas under Rājarāja—a long and bitter struggle between two powerful and well-matched powers with great organising capacity and plenty of resource—came into prominence, amongst others, the Yādavas, the Kākatiyas and the

Hoysalas already referred to. There was in the south a war of succession for the Pāndyan throne in which the Ceylonese and the Colas and their feudatories took opposite sides. These civil dissensions ruined all the parties, depleted their treasuries, depopulated their populous cities and devastated their fertile and smiling plains. On the fall of the Cola, the Pāndya and the Hoysala fought for the spoils.

Thus, at or about the time when the famous Venetian traveller Marco Polo visited the Indian coast, we find four well-marked groups of States. The Hoysalas under Vira Narasimha and the Pāndyas under Sundarapāndya were ruling the south. Rāmadeva of the Yādava Vamśa was at Deogiri and Pratāpa Rudra Deva II was governing the Kākatiya kingdom from Wārangal. We have to take into our consideration of this subject, the Rajas of Anegondi and Kampila and Kumārarāmanātha of Kummaṭadurga.

In strong contrast with the history of Northern Indian kingdoms of this period, the thirteenth century in Southern India was characterised by a high water-mark of Hindu progress in every direction. Though the country was politically divided and the kingdoms were in a state of rapid decline, offering an easy prey to the first southern invasions of Allaudin Khilji and the more systematic raids of his general Mallik Kafur afterwards, it was only for a time that the Muhammadan stood as arbiter in the south. The position of Hinduism was somewhat modernised. Literature and religion adjusted themselves to the religion of the masses and the administration was also highly organised. The reaction consequent upon Muhammadan invasions and the resulting confusion and alarm led to deep thinking and searchings of heart amongst the statesmen and the learned. A new empire was raised as a result of pooling together local efforts in different parts of the kingdoms of Southern India. When the dreaded Muhammadan invaders reached the river Krishna, the Hindus, stricken with terror, combined and gathered in haste to the new standard which alone seemed to offer them some hopes of protection. The

decayed old states crumbled and the warlike princes of Vijayanagara became masters of the situation and established a large and united Hindu Empire, the origin of which it is our attempt to trace.

South Indian Kingdoms

The Yâkavas of Deogiri were probably at first feudatory nobles of the Câhukyan kingdom. In the closing years of the twelfth century, they were rivals to the Hoysalas of Dora-samudra. Râmacandra or Râma Deva was the last independent sovereign of the Yâkava rulers of Deogiri.

To revert to the Delhi Sultanate in far-off Delhi, in 1288 A.D. there was a revolution resulting in the death of Kâikebad and the accession of Jalaluddin.²² His acts were marked by humane sentiments. In 1291 A.D., there was a dreadful famine in Northern India and in 1292 A.D. a Moghul invasion under Holakoo Khan, grandson of Chengis Khan, was repelled. 3,000 Moghul mercenaries were entertained in the Delhi army.²³ In 1293 A.D.,²⁴ the Sultan's nephew Allaudin, formerly governor of Kurra, also became governor of Oudh. He had entertained certain schemes of conquest which he now began to pursue with a view to ultimate independence.

Râma Deva of Deogiri was reputed to possess enormous wealth, treasured from a long time. Allaudin's object was not conquest or occupation of territory but plunder.²⁵ No Muhammadan had hitherto set his foot in Southern India and he anticipated much wealth in store for him. He was conducting an expedition in Bhilsa for the Sultan when he heard of the vast riches of the Deogiri Raja. Râma Deva was not at headquarters and had, besides, sent a large army under his son Sankara Deva against the Hoysala king Ballâla III. who was trying to help the Pândya.²⁶ Under these circumstances,

²² Bev., I, p. 74.

²³ Bev., I, p. 75.

²⁴ Bev., I, p. 76.

²⁵ S. K. L., *Beng. S. I. His.*, pp. 151-57.

²⁶ S. K. L., *South India & Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 76-77

Allaudin after reaching the frontier of the Deccan, pressed against Deogiri. When Rāma Deva heard of this, the invader was only twelve miles from Deogiri. Allaudin defeated the king. The fortress held out for some time but ultimately capitulated. The Raja offered a huge ransom which Allaudin accepted. In the meantime, Śankara Deva who had returned, advanced and fought the Muhammadan army. The wheel of fortune had, however, turned and the Hindus were defeated, almost exhausted in the fight. The country round Ellichpur was ceded to Allaudin who returned with immense booty to the capital. A little while after, the uncle and nephew met and Jalaluddin died as a result of foul play. Allaudin succeeded him as Sultan of Delhi in 1296 A.D.²⁷ On his accession to the gadi, he tried to court popularity by various conciliatory measures. He tried for security on the frontier by driving back the Mongols, as Balban had done before him. The wealth of the Deccan was, however, too tempting to an enterprising adventurer and after the defeat of the Mongol invaders, Allaudin again turned his attention towards the south.²⁸ Gujrat which had held out for a century was reduced in 1297 A.D., and Raja Raja Karan escaped into the territories of Rāma Deva of Deogiri in the Deccan but his wives, children, elephants, baggage and treasure were captured. About the same time, another invasion of the Moghuls, under Kootloogh Khan, with 200,000 horse, and with the object of conquering the entire Hindustan, took place. The invader crossing the Indus proceeded to Delhi and encamped, without opposition, on the banks of the Jumna. The people, fleeing in dismay, crowded the capital. Supplies were cut off and famine prevailed. The nobles advised terms of peace but Allaudin gallantly prepared to fight. In spite of treachery, rebellion and disaffection amongst the nobles, followers and army of Allaudin, the invader failed to take advantage of the situation and returned. This led Allaudin to imagine himself a second

²⁷ Bev., I, pp. 82-83.

²⁸ Ib., p. 84.

Alexander and to conceive grand projects. He wanted to start a new faith and effect fresh conquests in India itself.²⁹ In 1299 A.D., Allaudin marched on Jaipur.³⁰ During his absence from the capital, his nephew and brother-in-law Rukn Khan had rebelled but Allaudin soon recovered and his nephew fled from the throne.³¹ Later, Jaipur was captured. Hāmbir Dev, his family and garrison were put to the sword. The same fate overtook the Raja's minister who had turned traitor to him. In 1300 A.D., the first attack on Ranthambhor and Chittoor was unsuccessful but in the following year, Ranthambhor fell and the defenders committed *Johur*. Thus, Gujrat, Rajputana and Malwa were conquered and the whole of Hindustan came under his firm rule.³²

Allaudin's general, the eunuch Mallik Kafur was entrusted with an expedition into Southern India and the campaigns were carried on between the years 1301—1311 A.D. Kafur returned to the capital in 1311 A.D. with incredible wealth from the accumulated treasures in the south. In the course of his campaigns, the Yādavas of Deogiri were completely subjugated, the Hoysalas were humbled and their capital plundered, the Coromandel was overrun and Muhammadan garrisons were quartered at Madura, the ancient Pāndyan capital. Dreadful cruelties were practised by the invaders as we shall see.

To continue the narrative, Chittoor was again attacked in 1303 A.D., and the attack was contemporaneous with a blockade of Delhi by the Moghul who, however, retreated again for unknown reasons.³³ In 1304 A.D., Malwa was captured, the Raja was defeated and the surrender of ancient Ujjain was signified by illuminations and rejoicings at the Muhammadan capital. The defeated, yet proud, Raja was taken prisoner to Delhi where he declined an insulting offer of freedom. The

²⁹ Bev., I, p. 79.

³⁰ Bev., I, p. 80.

³¹ Bev., I, p. 81.

³² V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 233.

³³ Bev., I, pp. 82-83.

story goes that his beautiful daughter feigning consent to her joining the Sultan's harem by a clever strategy regained for her father his freedom. In 1305 and 1306, two Moghul invasions were successfully repelled. The Muhammadan armies crossed the Indus on plundering raids into Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar. It may thus be affirmed that Allaudin had rid Hindustan of most of his enemies and restored comparative tranquillity at or about the time of Mallik Kafur's southern campaigns.³⁴

Taking advantage of the disturbed condition of affairs in the Muhammadan Sultanate at Delhi, Rāma Deva had withheld the agreed tribute for a period of three years. Kafur advanced against him with 100,000 horse, reinforced on the way by the armies supplied by the governors of Malwa and Gujerat. On the frontiers of the Deccan, he met with severe opposition and made little progress for a time. He captured the daughter of the beautiful Kamalā Devi, who like her mother before, was taken to the harem and married to Allaudin's son. Mallik Kafur, however, was able to subdue a greater part of the Mahratta country and force Rāma Deva to sue for peace. In 1306 A.D., he agreed again to be a feudatory of the Sultan continuing to be faithful to him and during the remaining years of his life did not depart from this undertaking.³⁵ Rāma Deva hospitably received Kafur and went with him to Delhi.³⁶

In 1309 A.D. in the course of his second expedition, Mallik Kafur proceeded to Wārangal, through Deogiri.³⁷ An army sent thither had previously returned unsuccessful.³⁸ The fortress was reckoned strong and impregnable.³⁹ The Kākatiyas of Wārangal had a famous queen Rudrāmba, ruling a vast territory between 1261 and 1291. It was in her reign that Marco Polo visited the Coromandel. She was succeeded by her son and heir Pratāpa Rudra Deva II. In the course of

³⁴ Bev., I, p. 81.

³⁵ S. K. L., S. I. & M. I., p. 123.

³⁶ Bev., I, p. 85.

³⁷ S. K. L., S. I. & M. I., pp. 87-88.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 85-86.

³⁹ Mad. Ep. Rep., 1917, p. 127; Elliot, Hist. of Ind., Vol. III, p. 86.

his campaign, Kafur appeared at Indore, to the north of Hyderabad and caused terrible consternation and dismay amongst a people who had never seen the Muhammadans before. He encamped before Wārangal. After a very valiant defence, during the course of which Rudra stood Kafur at bay, the fortress was taken by assault. The terms of capitulation offered by Pratāpa Rudra were accepted, the country was laid under tribute and the general left the capital with a thousand camel-loads of booty.⁴⁰

Whether Rāma Deva of Deogiri had offered assistance as a vassal of the Delhi Sultan to Mallik Kafur during this march against Wārangal does not clearly appear. In 1310, again, Mallik Kafur, on his way to Dorasamudra, halted at Deogiri. Sankara Deva, son of Rāma Deva, was ruling and must have exhibited signs of dissatisfaction towards the Delhi ruler.⁴¹ Kafur, however, passed on without serious notice of it on his conquering and plundering expedition. His objectives were Dorasamudra, capital of the Hoysala Ballālas and the south up to the Cape.

The Hoysala Ballālas were a Kannada line of kings. During three centuries they had acquired enormous wealth and a large expanse of territory. Though a few decades before the empire was torn by internecine strife, it had again reunited under King Someśvara, who had proclaimed himself Emperor of the south. At the time of which we are speaking, Ballāla III was Emperor of the Hoysala Ballālas and was ruling over a vast tract of country which had remained united and unscathed during a period of political turmoil in the south. His capital Dorasamudra (part of which is the modern Halebid) in the fastnesses of the Malnad region, nearabout the ghats of the west coast, was in the highest state of prosperity.⁴² He had heard enough of what the Muhammadan invasion to his country

⁴⁰ Bev., I., p. 85.

⁴¹ S. K. I., S. I. & M. I., p. 123.

⁴² S. K. I., S. I. & M. I., p. 123.

would mean. The Hoysalas were responsible for a special style of architecture and the temples in the country were priceless gems of the Hoysala art. Ballāla, therefore, while his army had been sent on a plundering expedition elsewhere, learning of the impending Muhammadan invasion, soon returned to headquarters. His friend and ally, Vira Pāndya, on getting news of the Muhammadan campaign, despatched a large army to assist him. Ballāla, however, offered terms of peace to Mallik Kafur. The Muhammadan general demanded conversion, tribute and *Jezia*. Finally, Ballāla is said to have been taken captive to Delhi and afterwards released. The booty of the conqueror is said to have comprised 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, and 96,000 maunds of gold.⁴³

After the sack of Dorasamudra in 1310 A.D., Mallik Kafur proceeded still further south, reached the Malabar coast and then carried on his victorious campaign into the interior. The plunder of the temples and the wealth that he took back to Delhi on his return were enormous.

In 1312 A.D., Mallik Kafur was despatched again against the recalcitrant Śankara Deva of Deogiri. The Raja was defeated and put to death. The general stayed at the capital for some time collecting all the tributes due to the Sovereign at Delhi and sent the proceeds to the Imperial capital.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, the affairs at Delhi were taking a different turn. The king was getting old and feeble. The flames of insurrection had told upon the centre of the Sultanate at Delhi. Allaudin's fortune was on the decline. The meridian of his splendour and power had passed. Gujerat, which took the lead, defeated the general sent against it with great slaughter. The Rajputs of Chittoor hurled their Muhammadan officers from their places and regained their independence. Harapāla, the son-in-law of Rāma Deva, stirred up the Deccan and expelled several of the Muhammadan garrisons, when Mallik Kafur was recalled and left the place. Even Kafur was not free from

⁴³ *Ib.*, pp. 93-94.

⁴⁴ *Bev.*, I, p. 85.

treasonable designs against his master. Conspiracies in the household and rebellion and defeat of his armies everywhere made Allaudin mad with rage. His illness increased and he died in 1316 A.D.⁴⁵

Allaudin was a most notable ruler. He considerably extended Muhammadan territories in India.⁴⁶ His taste for architecture, like that of his predecessors, was responsible for a number of monuments, chief of which was the Allaudin gate at Delhi. The Moghuls enrolled in the Imperial army became unruly and dangerous, and one of them was very soon to found a new dynasty. For the purposes of our narrative what is more important, however, is the effect of Allaudin's invasions and of his policy towards the Hindus which had a profound bearing on the formation of a Hindu coalition in the south against the Muhammadans. Whether he was merciless and fanatical like the Central Asian warriors of the previous centuries, whether he distributed gifts with a vain liberality on the one hand as he slaughtered on the other, and whatever the extent of wholesale massacres of armed or unarmed and defenceless Hindus, man, woman and child to which he may have been responsible, are matters which have to be judged from the standards of his day. Ibn Batuta's claim for him as one of the best Sultans is not considered to be justified by V. A. Smith either by the manner of obtaining his throne or by the history of his acts as Sultan.⁴⁷ Barani, 'the excellent historian' of Smith, refers to his crafty cruelty and disgusting vice. 'He shed more innocent blood than ever Pharaoh was guilty of.' He ruthlessly killed everyone likely to endanger his throne and his nobles' heads were cut off, root and branch, almost to a man. He initiated a new horror, women and children were not spared. He was a particularly savage tyrant, with very little regard for justice. The bulk of his subjects were Hindus. He enforced the practices of his predecessors with

⁴⁵ *Historians' His. of World*, Vol. XXII, p. 23.

⁴⁶ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, pp. 232-34.

⁴⁷ Elliot, Vol. III, p. 184.

great precision and definiteness. Rules and regulations were drawn up for grinding down the Hindus and for depriving them of their property and wealth by every possible means; so as to reduce them to a position of helpless indigence. Half the produce, instead of the usual sixth, was taken from the land, in years of plenty as well as during seasons of drought and famine.⁴⁸ In his reign, no Hindu could hold up his head, and in the house no sign of gold or silver, or of any superfluity was to be seen. These things, which nourish insubordination and rebellion, were no longer to be found. Blows, confinement in the stocks, imprisonment and chains were all employed to enforce payment.⁴⁹ Add to these, an organised system of espionage and punishments, regulation of prices by executive fiat and establishment of state granaries on a large scale, it was small wonder that this fantastic regulation should die with him, that during his latter days, in the wake of his tyranny, success should no longer attend his arms and that the country should be the hot-bed of intrigue and rebellion.⁵⁰ The demands of Allaudin's military departments were exacting. Heavy tributes were levied on South Indian kingdoms. Royal wealth constituted materials of war and the temple treasures provided for long journeys, the military necessities and the distinctive methods of warfare.

The policy of Allaudin has been justified by some historians on the exigencies and needs of the time and to punish the wealthy and rebellious Hindus.⁵¹ The vigour, efficiency and comprehensiveness of his centralised administrative system appear to have brought peace and security. The Muslim rule became an imperial power. Institutional life was developed and whatever threatened to impair the efficiency of the State

⁴⁸ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 235.

⁴⁹ S. K. I., *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* pp. 292-93.

⁵⁰ Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, pp. 209-216.

⁵¹ It is, however, difficult to agree with this contention.

was crushed aside. The cheapness of the necessaries of life under State regulations and control increased the happiness of the people and bound them more closely to the personal despotism of the emperor,⁵² in which the people acquiesced as it gave them peace and security from Mongol invasions.

II

South Indian Kingdoms

On the death of Allaудин, Mubarak became Sultan and reigned for a period of four years. He was inept, drunken, revengeful and vicious. Nevertheless, two successes attended the Muhammadan armies. The Imperial hold on Gujrāt was tightened. In Deogiri, the Raja, Harapāla Deva had revolted. The Sultan proceeded against him in person to the Deccan and recovered the country of the Mahrattas. Harapāla was unable to offer any great resistance. He was captured and barbarously flayed alive in 1318 A.D. Deogiri became the first Muhammadan province south of the Vindhya range and attempts were hereafter to be made for extending their territories with Deogiri as centre.⁵³ The Sultan triumphantly returned and soon gave way to his weaknesses. He was ultimately killed in 1320 at the instance of one of his 'trusted' subordinates Mallik Khusrū and thus the dynasty of Allaудin came to an abrupt end. Khusrū as Nasirudin was Sultan only in name and but for a short time. His alleged favour of Hindus against Muhammadans was an additional ground of complaint against him and Ghazi Beg Tughlak became Sultan in 1321.⁵⁴

The Raja of Wārangal had revolted and thrown off the Muhammadan yoke, in the meantime.⁵⁵ He tried to rally the forces of Hinduism while his general, Muppidināyaka, marched through Kānchi as far as Trichinopoly.⁵⁶ The Sultan's eldest

⁵² Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, p. 216.

⁵³ S. K. I., *Begs.*, pp. 166-84; Elliot, III, pp. 558-59; Iswari Prasad, p. 217.

⁵⁴ Bev., I, p. 86.

⁵⁵ Bev., I, p. 86.

⁵⁶ S. V. Venkateswara, *New Lights on the Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 2.

son Ulugh Khan advanced in person and conducted the siege of the capital, but Pratāpa Rudra Deva defended admirably. The besiegers lost heavily by hot winds and severe weather. The army was considerably depleted by desertion and pestilence as well as in actual fight. The survivors were greatly dispirited. The prince raised the siege and returned. He was hotly pursued by the enemy who slaughtered his men. A number of his officers who had deserted him equally suffered at the hands of the enemy. In the following year, the prince came with a fresh army and renewed the siege. The successes of the prince over Wārangal which was named Sultanpur were celebrated at Delhi.⁵⁷ The offer made to the Raja of Wārangal describes the character of the Muhammadan invasions. He had to become a Mussalman, give up all earthly possessions to "the faithful" or put his neck under the sword. By 1323, Wārangal was placed under permanent tribute and Muhammadan degradations were carried on as far as Rāmeśvaram, leaving garrisons at various places, chief of which was Madura. These Muhammadan conquests were devastating and subversive of Hindu civilisation. This provoked reaction. A scheme to transfer the capital to Deogiri was a result. The opposition to it strengthened.⁵⁸ In the meantime, the Sultan had been invited to intervene and decide the case of a disputed succession and, for this purpose, had marched across Bengal as far as Sonargon near Dacea. He left Bengal practically independent, although he brought with him to Delhi an important provincial prince as captive. In 1325, he died and was succeeded by his son Muhammad bin Tughlak.

Muhammad bin Tughlak ruled till 1351 A.D., i.e., he was Sultan of Delhi for practically the whole period of our survey. V. A. Smith says : "The parricide⁵⁹ gathered the fruits of his crime and occupied the throne without opposition." He occupied it for twenty-six years characterised by a "tyranny as

⁵⁷ S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 2.

⁵⁸ S. K. I., *Regns.*, pp. 167-70.

⁵⁹ Note :—This is questioned by many.

son Ulugh Khan advanced in person and conducted the siege of the capital, but Pratāpa Rudra Deva defended admirably. The besiegers lost heavily by hot winds and severe weather. The army was considerably depleted by desertion and pestilence as well as in actual fight. The survivors were greatly dispirited. The prince raised the siege and returned. He was hotly pursued by the enemy who slaughtered his men. A number of his officers who had deserted him equally suffered at the hands of the enemy. In the following year, the prince came with a fresh army and renewed the siege. The successes of the prince over Wārangal which was named Sultanpur were celebrated at Delhi.⁵⁷ The offer made to the Raja of Wārangal describes the character of the Muhammadan invasions. He had to become a Mussalman, give up all earthly possessions to "the faithful" or put his neck under the sword. By 1323, Wārangal was placed under permanent tribute and Muhammadan degradations were carried on as far as Rāmeśvaram, leaving garrisons at various places, chief of which was Madura. These Muhammadan conquests were devastating and subversive of Hindu civilisation. This provoked reaction. A scheme to transfer the capital to Deogiri was a result. The opposition to it strengthened.⁵⁸ In the meantime, the Sultan had been invited to intervene and decide the case of a disputed succession and, for this purpose, had marched across Bengal as far as Sonargon near Dacca. He left Bengal practically independent, although he brought with him to Delhi an important provincial prince as captive. In 1325, he died and was succeeded by his son Muhammad bin Tughlak.

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⁵⁷ S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 2.

⁵⁸ S. K. L., *Begs.*, pp. 167-70.

⁵⁹ Note:—This is questioned by many.

bronze that this about, Balala II who had been taken as prisoner by Balala II, aided thereto by the contemporary Rakhatya king, met the Alahamadan outwash. It is generally believed that country and for organising a powerful Hindu confederacy to been considered propitious for a Hindu revolt in the Deccan though under took an invasion of the south, appears to have been Bhatuta and of Alberni. The occasion when Alahamadan have the contemporary records of the Alahamadan chronicles changed the capital to a distance of 200 miles. Of his reign, we add to these mad projects, the personal pride which twice anything else responsible for the inflated currency of his day, a true intented in buying off the Moghul invaders were more than his attempts to conquer Persia and China and the expenditure

master'd" the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its how could the people in the remote provinces receive for money, subtlety in a state so liable to revolutions as Hindustan: for known, Bedsha records: "Public credit could not long exchanged again, the insatiable of government became widely with untried and unmeasured horror. Later, the capital was from Delhi and the removal of the population was effected paper money was introduced, capital was assigned to Deogiri and lived by rapine, currency was tampered with and inflated, industrialists ceased to labour: Farmers fled to the woods trades on the necessities of life left the fields unemployed, his heavy exactions and grinding tyranny know no limitation, related to the sleek and ready on the one hand, while on the other squelched in the bowels of the world. He was a mixture of opposites. The pampered luxury and art and ignorance of his father, & he is described as one of the most abominable kings levish largess scattering without stint the golden treasures of his and then died in his bed. Like Alberni, he secured favour by attractions as any on record in the sad annals of human misery

in 1310⁶² had returned by 1313.⁶³ Dorasamudra, his capital, had been rebuilt by 1316.⁶⁴ In the course of the next decade, Ballāla III is said to have been continuously active on his northern frontier, at Tiruvannāmalai, Vijayanagara or Hosa-pattana and elsewhere, quietly and unnoticed reorganising his resources. From 1328 onwards, he was carrying on a systematic campaign against the Sultanate of Madura.⁶⁵ Besides, early in Tughlak's reign, the Kerala ruler Ravivarman Kulaśekhara had turned out the Muhammadan garrisons in the Tamil country.⁶⁶ The northern frontier of Ballāla's territory was in charge of a number of generals, three of whom happened to be brothers. They held the frontiers, from the west coast a little north of Goa right across up to the mouth of the river Krishna, successfully. The flank of the Muhammadan province of Deogiri was watched by the Kākatiyas, at the time nominally under tribute to Muhammād. Ballāla III was thus able to carry on a war in the south against the Madura rulers unmolested by any action of Muhammād till he fell fighting in 1342 at Beribi (Chirchi).⁶⁷ Ballāla IV followed soon after.⁶⁸

Muhammad Tughlak after putting down⁶⁹ rebellions and conspiracies in the headquarters of his dominions turned his attention to the south to reassert his authority there. He invaded both Wārangal and Dorasamudra about 1327-28 A.D. On this occasion, the Hoysala capital was left undisturbed when Ballāla delivered up the fugitive Bahāudin according to one account but according to another Dorasamudra was completely razed to the ground. A permanent garrison was located at Madura and it continued for seven years.⁷⁰ His

⁶² E. C., V, Hassan 51-52.

⁶³ E. C., VII, Sh. 68.

⁶⁴ E. C., III, Md. 100.

⁶⁵ S. K. I., *Some Contributions*, p. 296.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

⁶⁷ Ibn Batuta, Vol. IV, p. 198.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁶⁹ S. K. I., *S. I. & M. I.*, pp. 128 and 130.

⁷⁰ S. K. I., *Some Contributions*, p. 295.

Afghanistan province and Aluhamadan officers had been
a Zulqamadan province to his rule. The Yedava kingdom of Deogiri was
submissive to him. Further he annexed to have all India completely subject and
conqueror of China, Persia, Bengal and other countries would
in the northern provinces are amongst these. The prospective
punishment of recalcitrant Hindu princes and a little quiet
in the south, exhibition of power for all India intended
accounted for. The idea of a central capital for all India intended

Rajah.
when the traitorous officers in his army had joined his Hindu
prince had suffered disaster in his first siege of Warangal
lion in the south. That was how Nuhamed Tughlaq as Crown
to a revolt of head-quarters, there was insurrection and rebellion
the number of hostiles from amongst them at the imperial
kings of the Deccan, nor is this improbable considering
reigns at Delhi in 1320 A.D., were in secret understanding with
ion as was reported was at hand. It is said that the Hindu
employed Afghans in their armies, such like and co-operated
between, while even the Hindu rulers had some of them
and co-operation of the Hindus in their efforts. But in the
was isolated from the south, they did not receive the assistance
to root out the imperial power at Delhi. In Bengal, where
the Afghans of Bengal and of the Deccan were ever ready
able with the dislocation in the army of the Deccan. Further,
there was a Hindu revolt at Delhi in 1320 A.D., side by
on the frontier,

to gather their efforts together and carry on petty skirmishes
in several wars. The southern rulers who thus able
to gather the forces together and carry on petty skirmishes
Afghans in the north wrote over. We

had English now extracted from Sonargaon to Gaur and Lahore
to Akbar and he ruled over the largest empire of any

appointed to rule over the Kakatiya territory of Warangal. One of his nephews variously described him, perhaps a cousin,⁷² Bahādūn Gūstasp held a government as Viceroy of the Deccan. He rebelled against the Sultan, tempted to aspire to the throne on the wave of the prevailing general discontent. He openly raised the standard of revolt against Muhammād Tughlāk. He had great influence in the country and consequently his rebellion assumed serious dimensions and spread throughout the Deccan. His efforts met with some initial successes. Bahādūn's rebellion at Segar was the signal for other revolts elsewhere. Further, the establishment of a Muhammadan Sultanate under a Muhammadan governor at Madura may have also provoked the Hoysala and Kakatiya rulers to join their resources and make a stand for themselves.⁷³ The Sultan sent Khaja Jahan, the governor of Gujrat against Gūstasp. A battle was fought near Deogiri in which Bahādūn was badly beaten. After suffering terrible loss, he is said to have fled to the Raja of Kamplili in the Karnatakā country for refuge. In the meantime, the Sultan had advanced in person as the rebel's position at Kamplili was considered to be powerful and fixed Deogiri for his headquarters. It was then that, pleased with its situation and strength, he determined to change his capital, a change fraught with such dire consequences. The Raja of Anegondi—one of the chief princes of the mīddis⁷⁴—sheltered the rebel nephew of the Sultan and advanced to Kamplili to oppose him in person. After being twice defeated, the Sultan finally subdued the Raja who ran into the fastnesses of Anegondi situated amongst inaccessible mountains for refuge. Even that fortress did not long survive the siege of the Sultan's forces. The Raja of Kamplili was captured and put in prison. According to Ibn Battūta, he commanded a great fire to be prepared and lit, into which his wives and

⁷² S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 3.

⁷³ S. K. I., *Sonic Con.*, p. 296.

⁷⁴ S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 3.

"A relative of Balban and claimant to the viceroyal throne
in India," p. 614.

With these before us, we can easily see that the internal administration of Hindustan was rapidly drifting into ruin.

supposed him bayed alive.⁷⁸

he pursued the Governor to death and had a *Kazi* who had
of Sind who directed its burial. The Sultan was infuriated;
Subsequently, the loathsome object was sent to the Governor
the country," showing how traitors to the king would perish.
remains of Bahadur Burā,⁷⁷ and to be exhibited throughout
skin to be stung with straw, and to be placed along with the
to eat, but they would not touch it. The Sultan ordered his
reminder was put into a great dish and given to the elephants
rice. Some was sent to his children and wife, and the
alive, and, as his skin was torn off, his flesh was cooked with
impatiently spat upon him. Then he ordered him to be skinned
prisoner to be taken to the women, his relations, and there
neck, and so conducted him to the Sultan. He ordered the
Battā, "They bound his legs and tied his arms to his
accordingly to a description of this incident given by Ibn
tigitive. Bahādūn was taken to Delhi and bayed alive.
was in store for him by a reversal, prudently delivered up the
the Sultan proceeded thither and Ballāla anticipating what
who was then residing in his residential capital of Tonur,
managed to flee for protection to the court of the Ballāla
who would defend him.⁷⁸ While, however, Bahādūn had
trustied lieutenants. He advised Bahādūn to go to Ballāla
of capture. He was resolved to die with his family and his
figures of grain were exhausted and he was in imminent peril
The Kāmpīlī Rājā realised his dangerous situation; his
children and others threw themselves to be saved from
lisahonour, while himself and a few of his followers longed
to the end till the fortress was taken along with the inhabitants

who were converted into Islam.⁷⁸

lisahonour, while himself and a few of his followers longed
to the end till the fortress was taken along with the inhabitants

Rigorous collection reduced the peasantry to beggary. People with anything at all had no recourse but to rebel. The Sultan vowed revenge and hatred against his own subjects. On one occasion, he "led forth his army to ravage Hindustan. He laid the country waste from Kanauj to Dalman (on the Ganges in Oudh) and every person that fell to his hands he slew. Many of the inhabitants fled and took refuge in the jungles, but the Sultan had the jungles surrounded, and every individual that was captured was killed."⁷⁹ The victims were mostly Hindus and this fact added to the pleasure of his chase. In the south of India, exaggerated accounts of even these proceedings circulated and it looked as if his intolerance, ambition and ferocity had no limitations whatever. The security of the ancient dynasties was shaken by the rapidly advancing terror of this kind. The result was inevitable, if the Hindus did not bestir themselves betimes. The Hindu states would be over-run, devastated, the royal families disappearing, followed with a certain destruction of the religion, temples, cities and whatever was worth living for and dying for, of the Hindus. As Talboys Wheeler says, the interval (1321-47 A.D.) was of profound significance. While a revolt was suppressed its causes were not removed; it was liable to break again. Muhammad's proceedings frightened the Rajas as well as the Muhammadan armies in the Deccan who broke into mutiny.

Of the revolutions in Bengal, on the Ma'abar coast, in Deogiri and in the South, the most formidable was that in the Deccan. A confederacy was organised with the avowed object of turning out the Muhammadans from South India. Whoever were the leaders had a clear vision and wonderful foresight. The campaign was eminently successful and a Hindu Empire was established at Vijayanagara, the site of the present ruins of Hampe.

This war was a patriotic struggle for the Hindus for mere existence and for the preservation of all that was cherished as sacred from a religious point of view.

⁷⁹ S. K. I., *Begs.*, p. 167.

and records to prove that in 1199 A.D. the great *gopura* of the *Painappat* temple was erected the existence of inscriptions in his works dated 1150-1250 A.D. The Dharmakarita definite age, a town is said to have existed there as early as 1100 A.D. The poet *Lalitha* refers to the *Virupaksha* temple the earliest settlement at *Tirumap* cannot be assigned to any canons be exactly determined. According to *Sewell*,^{so} the king's *sagunam* formed a bulwark for the defence of Hindu rights. The date of the foundation of *Vijayanagara* which sub-

joined Empire is the next question for consideration.

Vijayanagara

was founded in 1336.^{so}

of the cities of the southern kingdoms, rose the Empire of *Vijaya-* *Hindus* of the south at last learned the folly of discord. Out of them were the *Pandya*s facing *Kalinga* pressure. The result of the tumultuous and turbulent and sorrowful life of *Foky*-*salas* of *Dorsavardana* one defeated by the *Kalingadans* bore from the Bengal side and the Central Provinces. The *Narmada*, and on the north-east, the *Kakatiyas* of *Warangal* the *Kalingadans* provincial administration) were on the line of a regular north-west, the *Yadavas* of *Deogiri* (centre of a people *recently* may be roughly described as follows: On the condition of South India in this period of the four-

concurrent. to the full and to the best and lasting advantage of the people of *ghanae* for able adventurers which was fortunately utilised the people, who had lost power only recently. There was a was unsatisfactory. In the South, while *feeling* still possessed overgrown and become weak. The condition of affairs there we must also remember that the *Delhi Sultanate* had

the first *Prākūra* was originally built. Fergusson⁸² dates the foundation as 1118 A.D. by Vijayarāyulu. This contradicts the Dharmakarta's account which places the commencement of the dynasty in 1336 A.D. (S. 1258), by Vidyā Rāmaswami (Vidyāraṇya).

Dr. R. Shama Sastri refers to a few inscriptions of the ancient kings of Anegondi.⁸³ He mentions S 910 and says that long before the Gajapathi Kings of Anegondi came on the scene, Hampe and Anegondi formed part of the famous Cālukyan Empire in the tenth century A.D., and that these parts were ruled by some Jaina princes.

According to Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao, Anegondi was in existence long prior to Vijayanagara and in the earlier periods of its history it was noted for considerable influence and power. Its chiefs were men of resource and even the early Muhammadan rulers had sought their assistance.⁸⁴ It was not a mere suburb. Besides, it had many natural advantages. The original name of the city where the ruins of Hampe now stand was Vijayanagara; it later became famous as Vidyānagara under the inspiration of the sage Vidyāraṇya.⁸⁵ Mr. Suryanarayana Rao considers Vijayanagara to have been founded about 1150 A.D. during the time of Vijayadhvaja, Anegondi having ceased to be the capital and the same to have been later revived as Vidyānagara in 1336 A.D.⁸⁶

According to Francis Buchanan, the Yādava dynasty of Vijayanagara is a matter of great curiosity and not yet well understood.⁸⁷ He refers to *Grāmapaddhati* and gives impossible dates like 493 A.D. for the foundation of Vijayanagara, near the old city of Anegondi, then wrested from the Turks. He later on cites Rāmappa's *Rāyapaddhati* and says⁸⁸ the

⁸² Sewell : *List of Anti., Mad.*, Vol. I, p. 106.

⁸³ *Ind. and Eastn. Arch.*, p. 374.

⁸⁴ *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 285.

⁸⁵ *Never to be Forgotten Empire*, Intro., p. 3.

⁸⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 11-12.

⁸⁸ *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 270.

- 29 *Id.*, p. 280.
 30 *Rice, Jigsose, Vol. I*, p. 277.
 31 *E., C., VII, SK, 12, 15 and 86.*
 32 *A. S. I.*, 1825-26, p. 140.
 33 *Longhurst, Humpo Ruins*, p. 27.
 34 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 10.
 35 *A. S. I.*, Report, 1826-26, p. 140.
 36 *N. D. I.*, No. 18 (*Kupala*).

The temple of Virupaksha is said to have existed in A.D. 92. The temple can be seen to be a collection of buildings erected at different periods. The Bhuvaneshvari shrine appears to have been built in the Chalukyan style of about the eleventh or twelfth century, undoubtedly anterior to the art of Vijayanagara, and there are other temples on the同类. Two inscriptions of Lattana I describe him as a chieftain ruling over Navakkalma with Kundarakona as capital.⁶ Reya,

If in the period preceding to the foundation of the Kiyekihira
people, it will be found that this was a part of the Kiyekihira
kingdom of Sugawara, from which he was turned out by his
brother Yati, Kanna, the celebrated hero of the Yamayana,
the second Taima-ishi, beatified Sugawara, first merging him at
the source of the Lampo or Gunagabanda river, where the
famous Taima Bumippe was afterwards to take his rise; a famous
of places in the vicinity of Taima are identified with those of
the Yamayana, among whom is a city, son of the emperor Par-
kuiti is said to have been ruling the kingdom from Tastumpana,
in whose aid wisdom, and whether the incipitutions he generated
or otherwise, the story is given. Deras seems to rely on them

Years of Anegundi ruled three for fifty-four years till 836 A.D., Hoyasadas took it from them and later changed their capital to Dvarasamudra. Kanyadipa Rayas ruled at Anegundi for thirty years till the death of Komara Rayana (819-901 A.D.). Both Rayas were great scholars and were driven out in 1336 A.D. by eighteen priests of Undavadaasvat for 211 years, till it became the property of the Alabedras who were driven out in 1336 A.D.

Heras remarks Navakhaṇḍa is not mentioned and suggests that references are not reliable but even he accepts the existence of the place as certain.⁹⁵

According to Dr. Fleet, the Vijayanagara inscriptions refer to the kingdom of Hastināvati or Hampe or Hampe-Hastināvati or Anegondi.⁹⁶ *Rājakālānirṇaya* refers to it as Hastina Kona, and an inscription of 1347 under Mārappa describes it as Hastini.⁹⁷

Prof. S. V. Venkateswara in his article "New Light on the Beginnings of Vijayanagara" refers to *Rājakālā-nirṇaya*. His account is partly based on this work. The authorship is ascribed to Vidyāraṇya, a disciple of Vidyāśankara. The origin of the empire is said to have been narrated in secrecy by Vidyāraṇya to his brother Bhāratī Krisṇa when the latter was the pontiff of Sringeri. From this account, we learn that the city of Vijayanagara was once famous in history but of late years had suffered a decline. The sage Vidyātīrtha, i.e., Vidyāśankara, the preceptor of Vidyāraṇya, had decided to revive the glory of Vijayanagara and had taken up his abode at Mātangaparvata closeby. Mādhavācārya and his brother Sāyana, who had no issue, approached the sage in his *āśrama*, to implore him for progeny. Meanwhile, the two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, of the Kuru Vamśa, who were out on a hunting excursion also came there. These brothers were treasurer and secretary respectively of Pratāpa Rudra Deva of Wārangal. When the Sultan defeated that Raja and took him captive, they served as treasurers of the Raja Rāmanātha. A little while after, he too was slain and then the brothers were carried off by the Sultan's troops to Delhi. When they were subsequently released, they returned and took up their abode at Hastina Kona on the banks of the Tungabhadra river. According to the Professor, Harihara and Bukka, on their

⁹⁵ Heras, *Begs.*, p. 52.

⁹⁶ J. B. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XII, p. 377.

⁹⁷ E. C., VIII, Sb. 375.

I believe that Vijayanagara, just before its emergence as a capital of the most powerful Hindu Empire of the south under Harihara and Balka, was similarly known as Hosapattana and was a residual capital of Ballala III, then Hoysala emperor. A number of inscriptions of the period describe Ballala as having been in the *neighbourhood* of Hosapattana. I further think that it was in the Hoysala country and that Harihara as well as his son were the *neighbours* of Hosapattana. I believe that it was in the Hoysala country and that Hari-

Perhapds, they were included among the subtribes of Vijayana-gara. Perhaps, to Kumara Ramana Dugas and the elephant stables. Centuries, to Kumara Kumastha in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of Hosapattana (Kumastha, and to the fort-Ramnathha's generals) and Hale Kumastha, named after one of Kumara Radigara Hampayana Gudde (named Kudure Kalu, Kumata... refers to Bahadur Badde, Kudure Kalu, Ramasarma in a very interesting article on "The Vestiges of Deccan, a favorite courtisan of Krishnadeva Raya. Dr. J. H. Dyer, by the name of Nagalapur, in honor of Nagalasa imperial city, in a very interesting part of the famous capital. Of course, Hosapet once formed part of the extensive fortifications of the Tungabhadra river formed a northern outpost of the city, Kampli seriling as an eastern frontier of the famous across the great and famous temple of Hampapattinam's dominions fortifications and outposts. Anegondi in the Nizam's district, a far larger area, it would take to cover an area of nine square miles and a fortification of the Perdore in the Hosapet taluk of the Bellary of the tributary of the Perdore in the Hosapet taluk of the Bellary great and famous temple of Hampapattinam's dominions fortifications and outposts. The remains cover an area of nine square miles and a fortification of the Perdore in the Hosapet taluk of the Bellary great and famous temple of Hampapattinam's dominions fortifications and outposts. The present tiny hamlet of Hamppe grew up around the

Emperor of the time, with Vijayanagara.

Also presently see the connection of Ballala III, the Hoysala that there was existing previously to the origin of the Empire of Vijayanagara, a city not altogether unknown. We shall consider a little later; the account, however, will show that at Hamppe. This part of the Rajakalutiranya will be considered a little later; the account, however, will be

Hoysalas in all probability. I am aware Mr. Rice says Hosapattana was not in the Hoysala country,⁹⁹ but I am inclined to agree with Father Heras who accepts the view of Sir Walter Elliot.

Vijayanagara was a part of the Kuntala kingdom and Vinayaditya Hoysala was the ornament of the Kuntala dominions.¹⁰⁰ Vijayanagara belonged to Kantrala, a district of the Karnataka country.¹⁰¹ Inscriptions of the time of Devaraya II, 1430 A.D., describe Vijayanagara as situated in the Kuntala country:¹⁰² in the midst of the Karnataka Desa, which was the abode of all wealth and which equalled heaven.¹⁰³ In the time of Acyutaraya also, 1533, Vidyānagara belonged to the government of Kuntaladeśa,¹⁰⁴ and likewise under Sadāśiva in 1555.¹⁰⁵ Prof. Venkateswara says that Harihara and Bukka on their release by the Muhammadans set up a kingdom at Anegondi (Hastinakonapura), included in the Kuntala Desa for several years.¹⁰⁶

Dr. R. Shama Sastri seeks to identify Hosapattana of the inscriptions with Sakrepattana in the Chikmagalur taluk of the district of Kadur;¹⁰⁷ but no one before him has done so. Hosapattana was also called Hosahampeyapattana.¹⁰⁸

If we come to the inscriptions of Ballāla III, we find Penukonda was a part of the Hoysala dominions. In 1328, Mācayadannāyaka was ruling at Penukonda as a Hoysala Viceroy. A son of Ballāla III, known as Vira Virūpākṣa Ballāla or Vira Vijaya Virūpākṣa was crowned at Hosapattana.¹⁰⁹

⁹⁹ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1923, p. 35.

¹⁰⁰ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 155–56, No. 152, verses 25 26.

¹⁰¹ *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 29.

¹⁰² *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 160–64, No. 153 at p. 164.

¹⁰³ *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 45.

¹⁰⁴ *E. C.*, XI, Cl. 54.

¹⁰⁵ *S.V.N.*, *New Lights*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1927, p. 62.

¹⁰⁷ *South Indian Report of Epigraphy*, 1927, p. 112, No. 8, date 1340.

¹⁰⁸ *E. C.*, IX, Cm. 105, Bn. 111.

¹⁰⁹ *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43.

IX, DB, 21.

IX,

DB, 13.

V, AK, 66.

IX, Ht, 43.

IX, G, IX, K, 9.

IX E, C, IX, DB, 13.

IX E, C, IX, NL, 9, 1333.

IX E, C, II, P. 115, n. 9.

IX J, B, Br, K, A, S, XII, P. 373.

IX E, G, V, Ch, 256.

IX E, C, VII, SK, 281, 1363.

III J. S. I, Rep., 1907-08, P. 210, n. 3.

III J. S. I, Rep., 1911.

What was the reason for Ballala III attaching so much importance to Hosapattana? We have already recounted
of Example.

which is identical with Vijayanagara and the present ruins will show the importance attached by him to Hosapattana.
Even a cursory glance at the inscriptions of Ballala III

it will not negate obviously our hypothesis.

Hosanad, where Ballala III was ruling. Hospital of modern Hosapattana was apparently known also as Hosabettā, in

this permanent metropolis, the

city that bore the name Vijaya.¹¹⁶ He made Vijayanagara of victory, and became Laksharajadhiraja.¹¹⁷ He inhabited the conquered the whole world, he built a splendid city, the city from the great throne of the new Vijayanagara.¹¹⁸ Having

referred to the Hoysala country: and a number of Vijayanagara inscriptions refers to Hosapattana, the Bunka ascends and reigns and in the Hoysala country: In 1355, it was Bunka's capital part of the Hoysala Empire.¹¹⁹ There are, besides, inscriptions at Example by his own ruler.¹²⁰

This prime, afterwards Ballala IV, was family known as Tamprach or Tampradeva. In 1339 A.D., Ballala III was ruling in happiness at Sri Virya Vijaya Virū-

in the preceding pages the fate that overtook the kingdoms of the south from the campaigns of Allauddin onwards, and the efforts of the Hindu Rajas to prevent Muhammadan advance for the preservation of the Hindu religion. Ballāla's multiplication of capitals at Tiruvuṇṇamalai and Hosapattana must have been to secure the frontiers of his Empire against foreign aggression and to be in touch with the other Hindu Rajas. The northern frontier was a vulnerable portion of his dominions and the Raja of Wārangal had been proceeded against in 1326. Like Unṇamale on the eastern frontier, strategy required his continuous presence on this side to guard against any onrush of the Muhammadan army.

The distinguished geologist, Lt. Newbold in 1845 described the ruins in these words : "The whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins of Bijianugger on the south bank of the Tumbuddra, and of its suburb Anegundi on the northern bank, is occupied by great, bare piles of bosses and granite and granitoidal gneiss, separated by rocky defiles and narrow rugged valleys encumbered by precipitated masses of rock. Some of the larger flat-bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river..... The peaks, tars and logging stones of Bijianugger and Anegundi indent the horizon in picturesque confusion, and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient metropolis of the Ceccan, which are usually constructed with blocks quarried from their sides, and lie in grotesqueness of outline and massiveness of character with alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature in the nicely poised logging stones and columnar piles, and in the walls of the prodigious cuboidal blocks of granite which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural cyclopean masonry."¹²⁰ The great city of Vijayanagara was situated near very steep mountains. It had a circumference of over sixty miles. The walls of the fortress were carried up to the hills, enclosing the valleys at their foot.

¹²⁰ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 6.

ज्योतिर्लाङ्गोदरो तु ज्योतिः प्रायः स्वप्नं
क्षेत्रं अस्ति तदेव विद्युत् विद्युत् विद्युत्
ज्योतिर्लाङ्गोदरो तु ज्योतिः प्रायः स्वप्नं
क्षेत्रं अस्ति तदेव विद्युत् विद्युत् विद्युत्

प्रायांगुडाम एव विद्युत् विद्युत् विद्युत्

III

dynasty for about 700 years before 1350 A.D. The Pampāpati temple points to Hoysala influence and excels others in the matter of style. From the hill above, it even to-day presents a fine picture. One of the first kings, if not the first, of the Anegondi kingdom, according to the *Rāya Vamśāvalī*, referred to by Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao, was Nandamaharaja (date 1014 A.D.), while the transfer of the capital to Vijayanagara across the river was effected by Vijayadhvaja in 1150 A.D.¹²³ He would thus be the founder of the old Vijayanagara. Inscriptional references are lacking to verify this identification. However this may be, the existence of the Pampāpati or Virūpākṣa temple, at a period long anterior to the foundation of the city by the illustrious brothers, is a fact beyond dispute. Even Father Heras accepts the genuineness of the inscriptions and the veracity of the legends and traditions in so far as they relate to the existence of the temple.¹²⁴ Sewell in his *List of Antiquarian Remains*¹²⁵ says Kapamaharaja was a predecessor of the Vijayanagara kings and, as related by tradition, built the original fort of Gandi Koṭa which was later on strengthened by the rajas of Vijayanagara. Unfortunately, again, this piece of information lacks authority. The monkey flag and the Kapidhvaja kingdom are, however, referred to by Rice,¹²⁶ though the reference cannot be to the rulers of these parts. Following Sewell, we further find the Pampāpati temple *dharmakarta* stating that in 1199 A.D. a certain 'Bodayya Raja' made a charitable gift of Hampe to the temple.¹²⁷ This prince could not be the same one referred to as Bodha Mahadeva in a Mudigere inscription,¹²⁸ for the date of the latter is 1371 A.D.

¹²³ *N. F. E.*, pp. 11-12.

¹²⁴ *Beg. Vij. His.*, p. 52.

¹²⁵ Vol. I, p. 123.

¹²⁶ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 277.

¹²⁷ *L. A. M.*, p. 106.

¹²⁸ *E. C.*, VI, Mg. 87. Bukka is the ruler of Bodhamahadeva Durga.

Hampé has not been completed; nor has the last word been said on the subject. The Vijayanagara temples present an architectural change, by a process of natural evolution, since the separate century, traceable century after century and there is, no break in continuity and no interruption in the style of architecture.¹²⁹ It may well be that the hills and crags in Anegondi formed a part in the palmay days of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Kampli was an outpost of the capital of which Hospet and Bhandara or treasure-house of Vizit. Two huge boulders are placed one upon the other in horizontal fashion, near the temple of Gavti Rangamatha, about a mile from Anegondi, to the west of that place. It is said that a strong masonry gate on the eastern side of the hill, a high mound of a bony-like substance, surrounded by two high towers on either side, leads to the ruins of an apparently very old palace. The hill top is covered with cement flooring. Mr. Rao conjectures this was the place where the rajas of Vijayanagara in their earliest days buried treasure.¹³⁰ At most, an inference as to the importance of the place may be possible from this reference.

Who founded Vijayanagara? The question still remains unanswered. The following extract from Sewell¹³¹ needs no apology for reproduction. "On the rocks above the Hampé temple, close to a group of more modern Jain temples, is to be seen a small shrine built entirely, roof as well as walls, of stone. Everything about this little relic proves it to be of greater antiquity than any other structure in the whole circuit of the hills, but its exact date is doubtful. It looks like a stone.

building of the seventh century A.D. It is quite possible that the shrine may have been used by a succession of recluses, the last of whom was the great teacher Mādhava. If we stand on that rock and imagine all the great ruins of the city visible from thence, the palaces and temples, the statues and towers and walls, to be swept out of existence, we have around us nothing but nature in one of her wildest moods—lofty hills near and far, formed almost entirely on the farther side, where dwelt the chiefs of Anegondi, and was just such as would have been chosen for their abode by the ascetics of former days, who loved to dwell in solitude and isolation amid scenes of grandeur and beauty.

"We shall, however, in all probability never know whether this hermit,¹³² whose actual existence at the time is attested by every tradition regarding the origin of Vijayanagara, was really the great Mādhava or another less celebrated sage on whom by a confusion of ideas his name has been foisted. Some say that Mādhavācārya lived entirely at Sringeri."¹³³

After recounting the several traditions regarding the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire, to which we shall presently advert, Sewell concludes the most reasonable one to be what will be consistent with Hindu legends and historical fact. Two brothers, Hindus of the *Kuruba* caste, who were men of strong religious feeling, serving in the treasury of the king of Wārangal, fled from that place on its sack and destruction in 1323 A.D. and took service under the petty Raja of Anegondi. Both they and their chiefs were filled with horror and disgust at the conduct of the marauding Moslems, and pledged themselves to the cause of their country and their religion. They rose to be minister and treasurer respectively at Anegondi. About 1334 A.D. they gave shelter to Bahāudin and were consequently attacked by the Sultan of Delhi. Anegondi fell as recorded by Ibn Batuta, and the Sultan retired, leaving Malik Kafur as his deputy to rule. The General found the

¹³² i.e., Vidyāranya.

¹³³ F. E., p. 20.

Another suggestion made is that they were in the service of the Aluhamadan governor after the first capture of Warangal in 1309 A.D. Aluhamadan was sent them against Ballala III in 1310 A.D. Their section of the army was defeated, when they fled into the Andhondi region. There they met the holy Adadavva and by the aid of this recluse they founded Vijaya-Ballala III was constantly moving about in his vast dominions, perhaps organizing a defense. Of and on, he was staying at Hosapattana where he even crowded his son Ballala IV. It the brothers were in the service of the Andhondi chieftains and it the latter were at war with the Hoysalas, some explanation will be forthcoming in support of this idea. This question needs a somewhat detailed examination, later on.

Accordinging to a third account, Tarrhaam and Bunka, officers of the king Pataliputra of Warangal on its sack in 1323 A.D. escaped with a small body of horse to the mountain fastnesses of Andhondi, accompanied by Vidyanay and his son, and finally founded Vijayanagar. How fugitives from a conquered kingdom and capital could all at once establish themselves in a foreign country requires explanation here.

Another view is that Ballal II was responsible for the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and that Travancore and Trinakkav were founders of the Vijayanagara Empire and that Travancore and Trinakkav were founders of the Vijayanagara Empire and that Travancore from the temple, there was no town in existence on the southern bank of the Pennathuradra river up to the beginning of the fourteenth century and with Aneggondi as a nucleus, the new foundation was made. A large number of inscriptions has been collected since Sevelli's day and the general consensus of opinion appears to favour this view.

people too strong for him and eventually the Sultan restored the country to the Thindus, giving to the rajah and minister responsibility to the two brothers who had been formerly minister and treasurer. These were Flarithan and Buleka.¹²¹

There is yet another inference, *viz.*, that taking advantage of a little freedom secured in the course of Kafur's campaign against Dorasamudra, the Harihara brothers determined to free themselves from the foreign yoke. They had felt the humiliation of service under their Muhammadan conquerors, daily witnesses to their extortion and cruelty, and patriotism and love of Hindu *dharma* and religion triumphed with the result that "they abandoned the fleshpots of Egypt to throw in their luck with their co-religionists."

We shall reserve the consideration of the part played, if any, by Vidyāranya in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire for a subsequent occasion. We shall now proceed to consider what had (1) the Yādavas of Deogiri, (2) the rajas of Anegondi, Kampila and Kummaṭa durga, (3) the Kākatiyas of Wārangal, and (4) the Hoysala Ballālas of Dorasamudra to do with the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire. This involves a consideration, incidentally, of the position which Harihara and Bukka occupied towards their contemporaries and towards the Sultan of Delhi.

The contribution of the Yādavas of Deogiri, if any, consists in their relationship to Harihara and Bukka, of which we shall also have to speak later in connection with the origin of the Sangama dynasty. The Raja of Anegondi, on seeing the advance of the Muhammadan army, is said to have crossed the Tungabhadra and fled to Crynmata which had been previously fortified.

What is this Crynmata referred to by Nuniz in his accounts? Prof. Venkateswara refers to it as Sri-maṭha or Sringeri Maṭha thereby suggesting the reference as undoubtedly to Sringeri and the Gurus there. No other scholar has so far adopted his view and I believe we have to look for an identification in the vicinity of the Hampi ruins, if not in the ruins themselves. I have already referred to the suggestion that the fortress containing the treasure of the king of Besnāga¹³⁵ may have been Kampili or Anegondi. It is rather unfortunate that

¹³⁵ Sewell, *F. E.*, p. 294.

to have been Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kampili. There is a record at Hampe on a stone pillar in the pagoda of Prasanna Virūpākṣa on the Hemakūṭa Hill dated 1309 A.D. and it is suggested that perhaps the name of the canonised Rāmanātha accounts for the Sri Rāmanātha temple¹³⁷ and for the signature 'Sri Rāmanātha' in the copper plate grant of Bhūpati Odeyar.¹³⁸ If we follow this account, we shall have to agree with what is contained in Ibn Batuta. Harihara and Bukka were released and sent to the South with a large following to defend them from any one who should desire to do them an injury. I have already sufficiently discussed how far such a thing was likely to have taken place. The explanation given that Enibiquymelly, the Moorish Governor of the place who remained there, was unable to maintain order; that the people revolted and that, there being no other alternative, the Delhi Sultan decided upon restoration upon a pledge of fealty does not appear probable. The Yavanas referred to in the *Grāma Paddhati* of Buchanan may be as legendary as the legendary hero Gangarāja of Anegondi family.¹³⁹ For, according to these traditional accounts, apart from the gross misfit in dates, a daughter of Gangarāja II marries Bue' Raia, Raja of Nagaracaray, one coss east from Madura and Hucca-bucca builds Vijayanagara as Hariharaya. He was, besides, a messenger in the train of Śankaradevarāya, a prince sent to visit Tuluva by Campi Raya of Penukonda who drove out the Mlechhas in 506 A.D. It is difficult to say whether this statement implies that the Deogiri Yādava was sent by the Raja of Kampili to Ballāla's court. According to another tradition recorded by Buchanan on 17th February 1801,¹⁴⁰ Hariharaya's conquest was in 1335–36. Yādavas of Anegondi reigned for 54 years; Campina Rayas for 30 years. Then Daria Soructa cut off Campina Komāra Rāmanātha's head in 849–901 A.D. If we take the story to be true and approximate

¹³⁷ E. C., VI, Md. 25.

¹³⁸ E. C., XI, Ml. 31.

¹³⁹ Buchanan, Vol. II, pp. 268–70.

¹⁴⁰ Ib., p. 277–78.

under the name of Vira-pacsham,¹⁷ Here the God was consulted a celebrated temple of Shiva, who is worshipped in Trambé they conferred with this mighty Brahmin, he retired into where Vyjayantigarwa was subsequently to be built. When a village on the opposite side of the lake lying at Trambé, and, while on their way, met the Guru of the later kings at Trambé, Ballal Raya, they undertook a pilgrimage to Kamesvaran the southern provinces of Pratapa Rudra, added those of which formerly belonged to princes of Andhra descent and to established in the southern parts of the countries Hindu Deva, Haribara and there took the opportunity of Bhagavam again, after the overthrow of their master, Pratapa in another account, as given by Trambé, according to

to 1335-36 A.D.

was given to him in the year of Vaidurya 1337 corresponding gave him the name of Trambé Raya, The whole kingdom easily, out of owing (a ceremony like our coronation) and became of Pratapa Rudra, to the man he gave Pratapa-Singha Raya, he took Thessa and Thessa, the hands of the under the constellation of Arco, in Uthiyam Jathiratha, and in day of the moon in the month of Vaisakha, being Wednesday 1335 of the era of Shambhu (1335-36 A.D.), on the seventh year, the whole army was fully built, in the year Raya, being visited God and asked according to his orders, in seven throne in Sringeri) and solicited his favour, The Alahavisvami late, before, and the devoutly succeeded of Shankaranya on the Alahavisvami (who, according to Trambé, was given to the (gottas) of Pratapa Hindu, came to Sri Alahavisvamya thereafter Thessa and Thessa, both the Bhadrada Gadas we shall find that at this period when Kurnia Ramamalha was dead, Pratapa Hindu's kingdom was under the Alahavisvami and, however, doubtless, the account continues that the dates we know of for several of the recorded incidents,

and the Brahmin declared that he was ordered by the deity to crown Hucca and to build Vijayanagara. Ferishta is then referred to. There is no evidence forthcoming who the late king was. Could it be Rāmanātha, or Ballāla III ? It is difficult to say as the date is not known.

On April 5, 1801, at page 416 of his Journey, Buchanan gives another *Rāya paddhathi*, according to which Worangallu Pratāpa Rāya was the son of Campila Rāya who was the son of Comāra Raja.¹⁴⁴

This was up to S. 1150 or 1227 A.D. Then, in the year Sarvadhāri of this Raja Worangallu Pratāpa Rāya, the house guards of the treasury were Harihara and Bucca Rāya, who came to Vijayanagara. This year, on Monday the 5th of *Caitra*, they placed the pillar (a ceremony similar to the laying of a foundation stone) for building Vijayanagara and the Rajas were placed on a throne of jewels. A copy of the original account is said to be in the archives of the Bengal Government Secretariat as in the previous instance. Buchanan gives one more account on p. 534 in which again Pratāpa Rudra figures prominently.

Mr. A. R. Slater discusses the theory of Harihara and Bukka having been vassals of the Delhi Sultan at one time ; he considers that they were perhaps serving under the Anegondi Rajas ; and he finally concludes that Wārangal, Dorasamudra and Anegondi joined in a confederacy to stem the tide of Muhammadan aggression in the South.¹⁴⁵

Enough has been said in the previous lectures to show that Deogiri was not in a position to render any open assistance to the Hindu rebels in this part of the country, for the Delhi Sultan was still at Deogiri during this period. So far as Pratāpa Rudra Deva, the Raja of Wārangal is concerned, after the sack of his kingdom and his death, it was impossible to expect any help from that quarter, although there is an

¹⁴⁴ F. N. This account strangely connects the Kākatīyas also with the Kampili chiefs and we shall soon find Harihara and Bukka also connected by relationship with all the three kingdoms.

¹⁴⁵ Q. J. M. S., II, p. 49.

Origin of the City and the Empire.

¹⁶ p. 20. Compare also Venkataramanyya, Vijayanagara:

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H. Krishna Sastri.

198 *Zn. Coll. Jllag.*, Oct. 1929. Also *hampati* and *Vijayanagera*. Cf. A. S. I., 1907, pp. 235-37. An article contributed by Rao Bahadur

at all events.

the absence of literary or popular traditions in support of such a theory, Ballāla's frontiers as a matter of fact never extended beyond the frontiers of modern Mysore and there were three wars between Kampila and Ballāla III, according to the inscriptions. Ballāla never, therefore, conquered these territories and had no opportunity of placing any garrisons there. The fact, therefore, that in 1352 A.D. three Hindu chieftains Horaib, Kapraz and Kampraz were governing the territory extending to the south of the Bahamani Kingdom from the Konkan Coast to the east of Bijapur while Mārappa and Muddappa were ruling the Maṭe and Mulbagal rajyas will not lead us to infer that they were protecting the Hoysala Empire from the north.

Mr. M. H. Ramasharma has contributed a series of very interesting and highly instructive articles to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* on the same intriguing subject. He has based his accounts on certain manuscripts, brought to light for the first time and a personal and detailed inspection of the locality.

From the account of Kumāra Kampana's conquests, we learn that Kampana proceeded from his viceregal headquarters at Mulbagal into the Tondaimandalam of the Sambhuvarāyans and, with the help of Gopanna and Saluva Mangu, swept the country clear of Muhammadan garrisons throughout the localities, killed the Muhammadan governor of Madura and restored Srirangam. Mr. Sharma says that the exact political condition of South India during this period and the gathering together of the southern states under Vijayanagara can be gleaned from the following: (i) *Kamparāyacaritam* or *Madhura Vijayam* by Ganga Devi, wife of Kampana. It is also called the epic of Gangadevi. (ii) *Jaimini Bhāratam* in Telugu. (iii) *Saluva-abhyudayam* in Sanskrit. (iv) *Rāma-abhyudayam* in Sanskrit. (v) Vaiśnava works on hagiology, *Prapannāmrutam*, *Ācārya Sūkti Muktāvali*. (ii) to (v) confirm the epic of Gangadevi. (vi) Nanjunda's *Paradāra-Sōdara-Rāmanāthana Kathe*, Madras MSS. No. 1525, 18-22-9 Catalogue: Oriental Manuscripts Library. (vii) *Rājakālānirṇaya*, Madras Oriental

Khana. A fresh charge was made with surprising vigour by Katanna, Bahadura, Sangama and Rāmanātha in the centre. In the melee, Sangama deva, Katanna and the brave young Bahadura fell and Rāmanātha himself was killed by an unknown hand. Mātangi took triumphantly the dead body of Rāmanātha which was subsequently returned to Kummaṭa. This is the portion of the account which is of some historical interest to us. Vādi Vidyānanda, Mātangi and Bhava Sangama are new names first appearing in this account. A new place Hosamalé is also mentioned.

In *Cannabasaru Purāṇa*, a Kannada work completed about 1584 a king Kampila is referred to as ruling in Hosamalé. His son Rāmanātha was building Kuinmaṭadurga. From there, he was carrying on depredations into the neighbouring territories and was famous. On hearing this, the Sultan of Delhi despatched 90,000 horse to Kummaṭa and in the war that followed the city was destroyed.¹⁵² Another work of Linganāna Kavi, *Keladi Nṛpa Vijaya*, refers to the vast prowess in arms of Kumāra Rāmanātha, son of Kampila Rāya,¹⁵³ while *Rājakālaniṛṇaya*¹⁵⁴ says that subsequently to the fall of Virarudra (the Kākatiya), two persons of *Kuru Vamśa*, a treasurer and usher went to Rāmanātha and joined service under him as guardians of the treasury. *Śiva Tattva Ratnākara* repeats this version, and refers to the place as Silāpuri. Young Bahadura who died in the fight according to Nanjunda's account is identified with Bahāuddin of Ibn Batuta by Ramasharma. His account is thus: "After the fall of Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal, two persons (Hukka and Bukka) fled southwards and took service under Kumāra Rāmanātha, son of a certain Kampila. The Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad bin Tughlak, according to Nuniz, having heard of Kumāra Rāmanātha's exploits, sent a big

¹⁵² Kānda 5 : Chap. 9 : verses 77 and 78.

¹⁵³ Mysore Oriental Library, Chap. IX, verse 30 ; Q.J.M.S., XX, p. 9.

¹⁵⁴ Mad. Or. MSS. Lib. See *Kampili and Vijayanagara*. Appendix A, p. 34.

some bounds he had with him to Tramandala. At another time, once trouble arose because Tramandala would not give touch the Kampilī kingdom. Boundary marks led to constant strife between the Trayas and the Togasida frontier, the chief source of dispute being that the Togasida frequently at war

royal tides,¹²

This son was Tramandala, after whose birth, Kampilī assumed and others, the Sultan of Isfahā acknowledged him as a rival, capital. He had several enemies against Tramandala, Vira Hindu Sangama, Kampilī ruled over Kuntala with Togasida as Marital Sangama dova previously referred to as Bhava Kumarīa Togasida was the third, while his daughter Akramīa Kumarīa Rājaparī, usually known also as Kumarīa, Kampilī dova was Kumarīa Rājaparī, Kumarīa was mother of his sons, and Kumarīa Rājaparī, Kumarīa was mother of his son. The descent may be hereditary; but we are told that his son Akramīa Singa referred to in Akbar's Court Records, No. 10), with the ruler of Chittor during whom in this family was captured by the Akbaranārā, this prince attired servile sons of whom the last was converted. When Bhogat was be found that Bhogat's numerous followers of Bhogat had four articles from which we have now been freely drawing, it will We may, in passing, refer to the ancestry of Kumarīa Tramandala. According to the accounts contained in the

We may, in this, also to be in the vicinity,
town Kumarīa or Kumanīpura,¹³ The considerables also to be in the vicinity,
was in the middle of this forest and close to this was another of Bhogat's or Trisurā's descendants or Kumarīa Tramandala during . After Tramandala says that Bhogat is son of the

"powerful, was finally killed." There, Tramandala put up a heroic defense; but being over and son referred to a nearby hill fortress called by various names, Kumarīa, Tramandala, Trisurā and even Silapurā and to crush his growing power. At this news, both father

time, it was a fight for a horse. During one of these raids, Ballāla marched through Bāguru pass in the Hosadurga Taluk of the Chitaldroog District to take revenge. In the fight that ensued, a well-known general Bhava Sangama is said to have taken part, assisting Katanna.¹⁵⁷ Mr. Ramasharma refers to *Bagaralu and Cittanahalli grants in the Hassan Supplement*, pp. 131 and 52 on which he relies. In the war, Muhammadan cavalry appears to have been employed on either side. In the course of the bitter scuffle, we are told Somia, perhaps the brother-in-law of Ballāla III, and Baicha Dannāyaka represented to their respective rulers that it was not meet that they should be fighting, when the enemy Suratrāna was at their door, for if he pounced upon them, the result would be disastrous to both. Peace was entered into and later on Rāmanātha in whose favour his father resigned, became king.¹⁵⁷ Another fight of Ballāla against Vira Rudra in which also Sangama participated is mentioned.

An interesting account of the war between Kampili and the Delhi Sultan is given. The origin is said to be that a daughter of the Sultan became enamoured of Rāmanātha on seeing a picture of his; when he refused her hand in marriage and territorial advantage, war was resolved upon. In an exhibition for skill in archery Bahāudin (Badura) being successful became a Mallik and territorial magnate. The displeased nobles set up the Sultan against him, and hearing he was attempting the throne, his execution was ordered. Thereupon, warned betimes, Badura fled South for refuge and in Kampili, the son prevailed upon his unwilling father to give him succour. Nemi Khan then was ordered to advance south.¹⁵⁸ If this commander be Mallik Kaffur, the incident conflicts with the version of the Muhammadan writers. Besides, there does not appear much warrant for these statements from recorded history so far.

¹⁵⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 90-92.

¹⁵⁸ *Ib.*, p. 93.

161 Cf. *Ib.*, p. 18.

"and Bhāṇḍavardū Bhākāṇḍa."

¹⁰³ *Ib.*, see also *Q. J. A. S.*, XX, p. 103. "Bhāṇḍarāda Harīharā

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1st See Supplement to *A.J.S.*, Oct. 1920.

190 *Iqbāl*, pp. 30-100.

159 *Id.*, p. 91.

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returned victorious.¹⁶⁵ Whatever these events may be, we have to remember that ultimately Kummaṭa became the seat of a Muhammadan province and a garrison was placed there about 1327–28.¹⁶⁶

What was the position of these several rajas subsequent to this date, is the next important point for consideration. Then, what happened to Harihara and Bukka and where did they go? Assuming that they were originally Telugu refugees, related to the royal house of Wārangal,¹⁶⁷ and later on they were in the service of the Raja of Kampili where they rose to positions of trust and responsibility,¹⁶⁸ does it follow from these, that Vijayanagara sprang up from the ashes of Kampili which had its root in the empire of the Yādavas of Deogiri?¹⁶⁹ Do these facts militate against the theory that they were in the Hoysala service and rose from thence?¹⁷⁰

In my consideration of this subject, I am prepared to concede, for the sake of argument, that the Kampili rajas were related to Deogiri kings, through Mummadī Singa,¹⁷¹ that there were wars between Ballāla and Kampila,¹⁷² in one of which a Ballāla general killed Kampila or some one else;¹⁷³ and that Kampila and Kumāra Rāmanātha are historical personages, the latter of whom is eulogistically referred to in the inscriptions.¹⁷⁴

We get a clue to the appreciation of the whole situation in the fact that Muhammadan historians do not connect the

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Q.J.M.S., XX. p. 103. "Ballāla bala balu bamdikara; "Ballāla bhūpathia ganda."

¹⁶⁶ Xn. Coll. Mag., Oct. 1929, p. 256; IX Quarterly series; also *Kampili and Vijayanagara*.

¹⁶⁷ Ib., p. 257.

¹⁶⁸ Ib., p. 267.

¹⁶⁹ Ib., p. 268.

¹⁷⁰ Ib., p. 267.

¹⁷¹ E.C., VII, Ci. 24 (1280); XI, Dg. 26 (1300).

¹⁷² M.A.R., 1913, p. 119; E.C., VIII, Nr. 19 (1320). Kapila deva.

¹⁷³ E.C., XII, Tp. 24 (1325).

¹⁷⁴ E.C., VIII, Tl. 23.

In a country devastated by a continuous war extending over a long period (if not for twelve years) it could not be expected that Farrukhara and Bunkha would be able to raise an independent army of their own : nor had they the money to pay it with. Besides, a friendly attitude towards Ballala
would have been more helpful to them, even if they were inclined towards raising a standard of revolt later on. If Farrukhara and Bunkha were vassals of the Delhi Sultan, there should have been evidence of enmities between them and Ballala, subseguent to 1327-28. Even if they were in a position to declare independence in 1340, of which it may be inferred that position five or six years previously. Further, there is no evidence that they were paying any tribute to the Sultan of the Delhi Empire as a token of their allegiance and loyalty.

Dr. Venkata Ramamayya attempts to controvert the statement that the sway of Ballala III was restricted to

over his dominions and that there was no weakening of authority during 1335–40. He says, following Krishna Sastri, if Ballāla was constantly on the move it was in order to check the growing influence and authority of Harihara.¹⁷⁵ He admits there are no inscriptions describing the relations between the two powers but suggests when inscriptions refer to Ballāla and his generals fighting on the northern frontier, it must be against Vijayanagara rulers.¹⁷⁶ He cites *Rājakālaniṣṇaya*, according to which Harihara and Bukka soon after their return from Delhi attacked Ballāla and defeated him; they renewed the attacks time and again and ultimately defeated Ballāla and wrested his dominions. Dates for these events are not given. Inscriptions of Bukka I and his subordinates are stated to allude to the wars against the Hoysalas.

(1) *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 2. Mallinātha claims greatness over the Hoysala army. [Bukka is at Hosapāṭṭaṇa in the Hoysala country.]

(2) *E. C.*, V, Pt. I, Hu. 19. Tippa Rāja (subordinate of Bukka I : or Son ?) captured Uchchangi.

(3) *E. C.*, VI, Mg. 25. Tippanna Vodeyār and Teppada Nāganṇa, sabhāpathis of Bukka, were unwilling to give up Sosevur in the Hoysala country. [Original doubtful.]

(4) *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46. Bukka freed from the enemies a hundred royal cities counting from Dorasamudra and ruled over an empire perfect in seven parts.

(5) *M. A. R.*, 1925, No. 84, p. 73, 1354 A.D. Bukka was ruling at Hosapattana, after making the Hoysala kingdom an ornament to his arms, that is, after conquering it.

(6) The struggle began again about 1336, when Harihara who was governing the Konkan pushed southwards and built a fortress at Barakura. Ballāla's generals advanced to check it.¹⁷⁷ Harihara attacked again when Ballāla hastened to the

¹⁷⁵ See *A. S. I.*, 1907–08, pp. 235–37, by H. Krishna Sastri on the "First Vijayanagara Dynasty".

¹⁷⁶ *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 29.

¹⁷⁷ *Report of Epigraphy*, 122 of 1901.

mentioned.

189 From Sturrock's *South Cauca Almanac*. Tirthahara's attack not mentioned.

189 E. C., V, AK. 183. I, p. 65.

ed the throne in 1343,¹⁸¹ Ballappa Danayaka having been long Pillar of Victory in 1341. He died in 1342.¹⁸⁰ Ballala IV ascended and mightily army as far as Filimavaram where he planted a large Ballala took advantage of this opportunity, led a very large Sultan of Jaadura, was murdered, succeeded by Alauddin, Unnambapatna, making preparations. When Alasam Shah, kingdom. In the same year, he was residing for some time at of the Sultan of Jaadura who began to attack the Hoysala Samudra about 1340, in order to meet the aggressive policy After annihilating his son, Ballala must have left Dover fortifying.

188-189¹⁸² Similar records regarding Vijayanagara are not Ballaya in the Alubagal raya of the Kolar district, in private grants for the success of the sword and arm of Ballappa Besides, as against these, we find inscriptions recording regarding its foundation.

Hosapattana with Vijayanagara and thus resolve the doubts the Hoysala dominions and incidentally help us to identify Hoysalas. The other inscriptions relate to the greatness of Sasevar may be an act of record for the birthplace of the or the nature of the encouter. This village is given up independent. Alahudha's claim does not refer to any place may have been uttered by a viceregal towards asserting a little conditions of the period, absence of the monarch at a distance an injury subordinate at the most: and, judging from the trying to set up an independent kingdom: he may have been I am not sure how far these references can be relied upon for the statement that Ballala and Tirthahara were constantly at war. It may possibly be that Tirthahara was restive and

Ballala retired from the place.¹⁸³

place is after 1339, Tirthahara took it. Before 1342, Konkan was under Vijayanagara: perhaps even before 1340, when

associated with the government in the kingdom. Fresh war commenced in 1343 and continued for some time.¹⁸² Ballāla IV's authority was not recognised by all and petty chiefs began to set up, one of them even assuming Hoysala titles.¹⁸³ A commander of the Hoysala army Ballappadannāyaka, married a daughter of Harihara I in 1346.¹⁸⁴ These incidents lead us to infer that petty risings had to be subdued before Vijayanagara authority could prevail and be firm. When Hoysala power was crumbling, this was but natural.

Another reason given is that there is no Vijayanagara inscription in the Hoysala Empire prior to 1342, when the whole of the west coast was in their hands. The Raicūr Doab with the Krishna as the true boundary comprising all the territory belonging to the Anegondi family belonged to Harihara and he was, therefore, the heir of the Anegondi family. I can only say that the conclusion does not follow from the premises.

The Sultans of Madura were never in hostile relations with the Delhi Emperor and no reason is given why these Imperial vassals, Harihara and Bukka, did not give trouble to Ballāla on the northern frontier when he marched against Madura. Inscriptions attest ceaseless conflicts between Muhammadans and Ballāla in one of which he fell fighting. If, again, Harihara and Bukka conquered the Hoysala country, why was it not annexed to the Delhi Empire? When did they shake off their allegiance and declare independence? In his book on Kampili and Vijayanagara, on pp. 26-27, Dr. Venkata Ramanayya quotes Barni¹⁸⁵ and says that before 1346 Kampili formed part of the dominions of Sultan Muhammad. Kanya Nayak, the apostate, is said to have come from Wārangal like Harihara and Bukka previously.¹⁸⁶ He relies on Nuniz and

¹⁸² E. C., X, Ct. 53, 1337; Kl. 54, 1339; Bp. 28, 1339.

¹⁸³ E. C., X, Mr. 16, 1343; Ct. 89, 1344; IV, Hs. 114, 1344.

¹⁸⁴ E. C., VI, Hg. 112, 1343.

¹⁸⁵ Elliot and Dowson, III, p. 247.

¹⁸⁶ Nanjunda's *Ballāla Rāyana Yuddha*. Mac. MSS. 19-2-14, Kampili and Vijayanagara, p. 26.

the corresponding facts taken from Xuanzhi, Toysala and the Vajayamangala history, with full references thereto and noting the errors in the account of Xuanzhi, it will perhaps be suggested that (i) a king of Vajayamangala is referred to before the existence of the city itself (Bisnagar); (ii) six nobles, including a minister, withheld owing to a house dispute the slaugherer of the

If we should look at the facts related by Xuanzhi and of Ballabha III, the latter, like the former, had no foundries. Deogarh, therefore, Bulka and Thalika were not founded until more particularly because the Delhi Sultan was then still at Thalika who had never have the Toysala who surrounded him. Ballabha III could never have to Delhi. Timoridately afterwards, the Sultan invaded in 1327 in the war against the Alauddins, Kambha went at Tumepa. (d) A.M. 163, presents Vridhaksa's inscription at Tumepa.

(v) On the other hand, there is Kambha's inscription in the Toysala dominions,

father of Ballabha III, does not prove that Tumepa was founded (iii) The inscription (A.S., 1959) of Somesvara, grand-
(ii) There is no inscription of Ballabha at Tumepa,
as alleged.

(i) As inscriptions refer to Ballabha found in any city be an adequate basis on those grounds. Tumepa, Vridhaksa, Vira-Xavadeva, Vridhaksa, Vira-Xavadeva, Ballabha, Vira-Xavadeva, Vridhaksa, Vira-Xavadeva, Ballabha's other son, Vridhaksa

Emperors. Although established in the foundation of the Vajayamangala had already ascended in 1329 to 1345 I am, therefore, inclined to believe that Ballabha III must

wish to do so rather, in the Southwards to the south, the army of Ballabha ought to conquer Andhra and on the Sultan and defeated their ruler Vridhaksa only in 1346, the

It, again, Ballabha and Bulka were vassals of the Delhi given before.

king and the rest of his army ; (iii) one of these became the founder of the empire ; (iv) Muhammad Tughlak sent a new Hindu king to the South in order to put down the rebellions there against him ; and (v) a Muhammadan is therefore responsible for the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Now, what are the facts ? All accounts agree that the person responsible for the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara was one who had been imprisoned by the Delhi Mussalmans ; he had been taken prisoner to Delhi ; and he was subsequently released. Who was this king ? Nuniz describes the new Hindu king of Bisnāga, appointed by Muhammad Tughlak as Deorao, who was originally imprisoned and then set free by him and who thereafter returned to the country. According to the Mussalman historians, the invasion of the Hoysala Empire took place in 1310.¹⁸⁷ Vira Ballāla III waited for the enemy at Dora-samudra¹⁸⁸ and Allauddin Khilji had been at war with him ever since that period.¹⁸⁹ As stated previously, he was defeated and killed in 1342 by the Sultan of Madura.¹⁹⁰ The place of his death referred to as Beribi has been interpreted and identified with Chirichi or Tiruchi by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. Muhammad Tughlak had transferred his capital to Deogiri for some time.¹⁹¹ During this period, there was a rebellion in Multan and later on in the Eastern Provinces.¹⁹² Then, Muhammad Tughlak left Mallik Naib Imad-ul-Mulk as commander at Wārangal but Hasan Kangu rebelled against him at Deogiri, defeated and killed him.¹⁹³ We are not concerned with the events that led up to the foundation of the Bahamani Kingdom. To continue our narrative, Sewell describes Deorao as the general

¹⁸⁷ *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, App. A, p. 35, *Vidyāranya Kālajñana*, Mc. MSS., p. 45 ; Ferishta, *Briggs.*, I, p. 427.

¹⁸⁸ Ferishta, *Briggs.*, I, p. 373.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. *Supra* and previous lectures.

¹⁹⁰ Ibn Batuta, *Voyages*, IV, pp. 106-08 : E. C., VI, Kd. 75.

¹⁹¹ Ferishta, *Briggs.*, pp. 419-20.

¹⁹² Ib., pp. 419-25.

¹⁹³ Elliot-Dowson, III, pp. 257-58.

201 E, C, IX, 111, 43.

200 E, C, VI, CM, 102.

199 P, E, 29; P, A, 2.

198 Berishita, Driggs, I, p. 373; E, C, V, III, 61 and 62.

197 E, C, VII, SH, 68, Medea Vira Balala Devanasi.

196 Berishita, Driggs, I, p. 373.

195 E, C, VI, CM, 102.

194 E, C, VI, CM, 102.

The *de* of the *Vijayanagar kingdom*, there is no evidence that *Hathibara* or any other of the unpossessed founders of the *Vijayanagar Empire*, *Kannapa*, *Balala*, *Alindappa* bore such a title or surname. On the contrary, *Balala III* has been described as *Vira Balala Devanasi*. After being taken prisoner to *Hedil*, he was subsequently released and sent back to his own kingdom, *to one imprisonment and sent to Hedil*. He, who in the inscription is described as *the founder of Alindappa-his-tonam*, a *city of the Carnatic* who was defeated by *Alindappa Kattur* in 1310 is described as *a Hindu King*, *who* after the Trincomalee war, when his son returned from *Hedil*, *left* the *Tamil land* *and* *won* *the* *country* *of* *the* *Carnatic* *and* *conquered* *a* *country* *of* *his* *own* *country*, *and* *then* *to remove* *the* *seal* *of* *government* *among* *the* *mountains*. *If* *then*, *built* *by* *the* *name* *of* *Bogaswami*, *Swamiji* *describes* *this* *version* *whith* *word* *Xunggar* *or* *city* *was* *added* *so* *that* *it* *is* *now* *known* *it* *after* *his* *son* *Bogasa* (*Vija* *or* *Vijaya* *according* *to* *Herts*), *to* *a* *strong* *city* *upon* *the* *frontiers* *of* *his* *dominions* *and* *called* *the* *sixteenth* *century*, *Berishita* *was* *in* *an* *exceptional* *position* *on* *the* *ground* *that* *it* *could* *not* *be* *built* *in* *a* *short* *time*.

with that of Ballāla III's son also. Vijaya had been formerly prefixed to Hoysala cities elsewhere. Indeed, Dorasamudra itself was once called by that name.²⁰²

Then, Deorao was very old even as Ballāla III was,²⁰³ and Harihara could not have been so old. If Bukka was eighty years old in 1379; his brother, however much older than himself, could not have been more than forty-three at the time of the foundation.

It is very significant, as Prof. Venkateswara suggests, that no Muhammadan writer has, so far, claimed on behalf of Muhammad Tughlak credit for the gift of a kingdom to Harihara and Bukka. There has been no charge of disloyalty or ingratitude against Harihara and Bukka levelled by the Muhammadan chroniclers, in spite of the fact that in later years they adopted quite an independent and a frankly anti-Muhammadan attitude. Barni refers to the revolt of Wārangal. There is evidence that Vira Rudra was the bulwark of Hinduism in the North where, in his time, he checked the Muhammadan advance. It is said that he showered a rain of gold on the poet Mallinātha.²⁰⁴ It is further suggested that Harihara and Bukka who were in the service of Pratāpa Rudra came to Hampe in the course of a pilgrimage where they met Vidyāranya. A celebrated Śiva temple is referred to as existing there.²⁰⁵ Buchanan says that Scott's translation of Ferishta agrees with *Rāya Paddhati*. We do not know what the inscription is which refers to the foundation of Vijayanagara by one of the sons of Rudra II.²⁰⁶ However, *Rājakālanirṇaya*²⁰⁷ says that, after the sack of Wārangal in 1321, Harihara and Bukka fled for shelter to the Raja of Kampili whose name was Rāmanātha. This prince is also

²⁰² E. C., XI, Mk. 12 ; V, Ch. 244.

²⁰³ He was 82 years old in 1342. Ibn Batuta, IV, p. 198.

²⁰⁴ Mad. Or. MSS. Lib., No. 12281.

²⁰⁵ Buchanan, p. 282.

²⁰⁶ S. K. I., Beg., p. 164.

²⁰⁷ Mad. Or. MSS. Lib., No. 12772.

and proved unacceptable.

There is another view that Kumara Ramamatha was always at war with Ballala III and that Harithara and Bukkan were superior in military prowess. This has already been considered to the Hoyasala ruler Ballala, to whom they were vastly inferior least likely to have surrendered their individuality who, along with their relations, took part in these engagements at war with Ballala III and that Harithara and Bukkan

the period.

Gotten in considering the importance of the political events of Hoyasala country was situated. This fact should not be forgotten in the favourable position in which the No other kingdom was in the Mysore Plateau. What was that which was established in the Mysore Plateau. trivially free from the devastating effects of Muslim invasion occupied only South Indian kingdom that had been compared

up Harithara and Bukkan on the throne.

to be in any mood, much less afford, to send an army to set to concentrate his attention there. He could not be expected in 1335-36 and the circumstances in the north forced Tughlak negotiations with the Hoyasalas. There was a famine at Delhi Nayak was a Kakkatya noble who was carrying on private to protect his South Indian kingdom. Perhaps, Kanya more than anything else, that Muhammad Tughlak was unable and fell into the hands of the Hindus.²¹⁰ This will prove, and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambla was also lost about the same time one of the relations of Varrangal, we find Elliot's account relating to the sack of Varrangal, we find whom the Sultan had sent to Kambla²⁰⁹ posted from Islam decision. Harithara thereupon became king. To refer to in the earlier lecture, they were released as a result of a council the survivors who were taken captives were Harithara and Bukkan. They were protected by the Sultan until, as stated referred to by Bughaan.²⁰⁸ In the course of his encounter with the Delhi Sultan, the Kammula Raja was slain and amongst the survivors who were taken captives were Harithara and Bukkan. In the course of his encounter with the Delhi Sultan, the Kammula Raja was slain and amongst the survivors who were taken captives were Harithara and Bukkan. In the course of his encounter with the Delhi Sultan, the Kammula Raja was slain and amongst the survivors who were taken captives were Harithara and Bukkan.

Was Vijayanagara in the Hoysala Country ? and was Ballāla III
Ruling there ?

In dealing with Vijayanagara as a part of the Kuntala Deśa and the Hoysala country, known as Hosapattana and by other names, I have already dealt in detail regarding this subject. Later on, while discussing the identity of Crynmaṭa of Nuniz, I have again referred to it. Vijayanagara has further been referred to as Hosamalé and Hosadurga. Hosamalé has been indentified with a forest in the vicinity of the Hampe ruins. I have further referred to the activities of Ballāla III in different parts of his territories at different times. If the Hoysalas were lords of Kuntala Deśa and if Vijayanagara was in the Kuntala country, it follows naturally that it must have been in the Hoysala dominions.

Gangadevi refers to her father-in-law Bukka I as Kuntala Bhūmī Pāla.²¹¹ Vira Bukka Rāyalu was ruling at Penukonda and Dorasamudra in 1352.²¹² In 1354, he was at Hosapattana. According to the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XI, Cd. 2, it was in the Hoysala country. Bukka is the elevator of the Hoysala Empire. A Hampe inscription refers to Hoysalas implying its inclusion in the Hoysala kingdom at one time.²¹³ Besides, Ballāla III crowned his son at Hosapattana,²¹⁴ where he was previously ruling and which was his residential capital.²¹⁵ A number of inscriptions refer to Ballāla's stay in his capital of Vijayanagara, by their then known names. An inscription of 1178 in Holal of the Bellary district mentions Nolambavādi in Kuntala Deśa ; Rājamalla II, a Kuntala prince, gives in 1199 a grant to the Durga Pagoda, situated in the north of the Virūpākṣa temple.²¹⁶ If Vijayanagara was in

²¹¹ *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 28.

²¹² *Ep. Rep.*, 1908.

²¹³ *Q. J. M. S.*, XI, p. 21. Cf. also Venkataramanayya : *Vijayanagara Origins*.

²¹⁴ *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105 ; *op. cit.*, IX, Bn. 111.

²¹⁵ *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43, *Mad. Ep. Rep.*, No. 17 of 1880.

²¹⁶ *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 45.

It is not, given these premises, improbable that Ballala III was ruling at Vijayanagara, then called Hosapattana and by other names. Several inscriptions have already been referred to. That even Dorsamudra was known as a residential capital to. It is clear from the fact that Ballala III was situated in the residential capital of Dorsamudra on February 1, 1292.²¹⁷ Taking the dates for the movements of Ballala III subsequent to 1328, we find him ruling in the residential capital of Vijayapaksapattana in 1330.²¹⁸ In the following year, 1331, he was in Hosadurga.²¹⁹ Two years later, in 1333, he was at Hosabettia.²²⁰ In 1339, his residence was Virapaksapura and he was king by his own sole valour. This Virapaksapura and he was king by his own sole valour. His son Ballala IV,²²¹ who obtained the crown on June 28, 1343,²²² was at Hosanad.²²² Anointment takes place of his relation, and minister Didi Somayya is also mentioned.²²³ In 1340, he was at Hosanad.²²⁴ This is no other than Virapaksapura and he was king by his own sole valour. This Ballala Deva who obtains the crown on June 28, 1343,²²⁵ was at Hosanad.²²⁶ In the previous year, he bore the additional title of Sultan's forces and erecting a Pillar of Victory, he bore the additional title of Sultan-Ballala III. From these, it will be clear that Ballala III was ruling from Vijayanagara and that the identity of the ruler could not be looked for, as Mr. Rice once said.

Coronation as 31 Jan. 1292 A.D.

217 E. C., VI, CM. 36. Avanasi, 189 of 1909 gives the date of Monday. Stone inscription.

218 E. C., V, AK. 66, 1880; S. 1252, Pramoda, Asvija Su. 12,

219 E. C., XII, GP. 30. Virapaksasa-Hosadurga.

220 E. C., IX, NI. 9.

221 E. C., IX, DR. 48.

222 E. C., IX, HT. 43.

223 E. C., IX, DR. 48.

224 E. C., VII, CM. 106.

225 E. C., IX, BN. 111.

226 E. C., IX, DR. 48.

227 E. C., IX, DR. 48.

228 E. C., IX, DR. 48.

229 E. C., IX, DR. 48.

230 E. C., IX, DR. 48.

suggested, in the present Mysore country, but that it was the old Hosapattana.

Did Ballāla III transfer his Capital from Dorasamudra to Vijayanagara and if so why ?

The frontiers of the Hoysala kingdom abutted on those of Kampili. When Deogiri and Wārangal were subdued and Kampili was destroyed, Ballāla was practically obliged to deliver up Bahādin. About 1327-28, at the time of the demand for the surrender of the fugitive, it does not appear that Dorasamudra was sacked or destroyed. In the palmy days of the Hoysala Empire, Perdore, the Kannada name for the river Krishna, was considered the natural frontier of the Hoysala dominions in the North. With the fall of Kampili, Ballāla III may have felt like extending his territory in that direction. Freed from the rivalries of Wārangal and Deogiri, at a time when the Sultan of Delhi had sufficient to occupy his attention in Northern India itself, this could not be considered an unnatural ambition. Furthermore, we have already noticed how the generals of Kampila and Ballāla advised their masters to make peace in order to combine against the Muhammadan rulers. The people of Deogiri and Wārangal kingdoms as well as the influential nobles therein may have made overtures to the one Hindu ruler who was yet comparatively free from the onslaughts and terror which Muhammadan conquest involved, to go to their rescue. At any rate, there was no other ruler in existence, so far as we are aware, who could have undertaken this task. If we watch Ballāla's constant movements from 1318 to his death in 1342 at Yalahankanad,²²⁶ we shall observe that he was at Arunasamudra in 1318²²⁷ and 1331²²⁸; at Dorasamudra in 1319²²⁹ and 1334²³⁰; at

²²⁶ *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 34.

²²⁷ *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 73.

²²⁸ *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 71.

²²⁹ *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 12.

²³⁰ *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 7.

Vijaya Varupakasaputra as his residentia capital, as the sole
We have referred, in these pages, to Ballala's rule in Vira-

the Hoyasala Empire?

What part did Vijayanagara play, if any, in the decline of

Ballala be accepted, most of the objections will disappear.
proposed that Tarikhara and Bunka were acting under
These have been dealt with elsewhere and it is the view therefore
III in 1310 and appearing semi-independent in 1316-17,
Simganna Nayaka (Troyasala feudatory) acknowledging Ballala
Hoyasala town in the Shimoga district (A. C., VII, 140, p. 31);
building a fort at Harakur (Ib., p. 65); Bunka I attacking a
Lordship by 1336 (South Kanara Dravida, I, p. 55); Tarikhara I
Bairasi Wodeyar's reoccupation of Vijayanagara over-
P. 63); Bairasi Wodeyar's reoccupation of Vijayanagara over-
subordinate building a fort at Hadami in 1310 (Ind. Ant.,
chief at Tonnavar to Tarikhara I (Ton Battula); Tarikhara's
independence. This reasons are the subjection of a kingdom
a predominant kingdom in India long prior to their domination of
male.²⁶ The considers them sufficiently powerful to exercise
Bunka may have indeed a change of capital to Tiruvannamalai
to the fear of Chola invasion invasions, fear of Tarikhara and
Rao Bahadur Krishn Sastri suggests that, in addition

resided in the northern parts of his dominions.

asons, we must take it that Ballala was on the move and
far-off capital with the forces in the North. For those several
to maintain a chain of garrisons in those days from the
tated Ballala having a number of capitals. It was also difficult
but operations had to be directed from the North which necessi-
with is dated 1316.²⁷ Thus, Dorsananda was not given up
in Bn. 41 of 1313, while the last Troyasala inscription we met
Vijayanagara as before stated. Unyamale is again mentioned
Unyamale in 1328,²⁸ 1310,²⁹ 1311,³⁰ and 1315³¹; and at

arms is also clear.

the Hoysala dominions prayed for the success of Ballala's this under-taking of Ballala is clear and that people throughout Vijayanagara was its centre. That Haribara supported then the symbol of revolt against the Aluhamadan usurpation the protection of the Hindu religion, the Hoysala Empire was said to be the result of a vast and united Hindu effort for they and Deogiri kingsdoms and it the origin of the empire could Vijaya and Vijayanagara was, besides, central to the Hoysala, Kaka-

Aluhamadan aggression from the North-East.

Vijayanagara could be expected to withstand from Aladura, Vijayanagara could be expected to withstand upon becoming prominent fortresses. While Unnarmale could look out and prevent the Sultan's forces from joining the army the forts of his empire. Tiruvannamalai and Hosapattana here- council of war, he had resolved upon securing the time of the empire of the Aluhamadan attack on Warangal, after Delhi, had restored Dvarasamudra to its old condition and about Ballala, after his release from captivity and return from with allies in case of war.

During his lifetime, Ballala III was often residing at Vijayanagara, for it must have been of considerable strategic importance from its geographical position. The construction of a capital on this side of the river, as opposed to Anegondi on the other bank, must have provided additional advantages of its own. By keeping the enemy at bay, at a distant out-post of the empire, it was possible to organize the army and collect provisions with greater security, if not also to maintain secrecy. Communications could be maintained more effectively. Communications with maintained more efficiency.

During his lifetime, Ballala III was often residing at Vijayanagara, and to the Hoysalas; and to Ballala IV being militarily known as Hampia.²⁷ He was crowded, besides, or Ballala was named after the city. In either case, the relationship is significant.

at Vijayanagara. Hampi was called after the heir-apparent, which belonged to the Hoysalas; and to Ballala IV being militarily known as Hampia.²⁷ He was crowded, besides,

The father of Harihar and Bukka, and the other three brothers, Kampana, Alarappa and Muddappa was Sangama. This fact is beyond dispute. To which place he belonged and whether he was of Telugu or Kannada descent is, however, a

Origin of the Sangama Dynasty

all the greater by their wise and firm rule. The titles of the Hoyasala Balillas and made Hoyasala reputation an ornament to Bukka. The Vijayanagara kings assumed the Hoyasala birthplace Sosetti, and Hoyasala kingdom was of Hinduisim, Vijayanagara generals were unwilling to give up Dorasamudra and other cities from the ravages of the enemies Vijayanagara. I was the elevator of the Hoyasala Empire, for Bukka I was the emperor who interfered, for the traditions of the Hoyasala after this year. We must take it that records of the Hoyasala after this year. There are no records of the Vijayanagara after this year. It celebrated the festival of the empire. There are no outstandings significance in the history of the Vijayanagara are referred to. As we shall see later, 1346 was a year of a rock and issued with the royal seal. Hariappa and Alutthanna Thirumalai people make a grant which is engraved on thots. The Thirumalai people make a grant which is engraved on 1346 describes Hariappa, son of Hariharaya, while an inscription of Bn. 1, Thursday, refers to Ballalariya without any epigraph. The stone of the same year probably, Vijaya, Vaisaka inscription in stone of the same year probably, Vijaya, Another 1346 describes Hariappa and Bukkanna as ruling. And there is likewise a grant for the success in arms of And there are other references. As regards the Vijayanagara, there is likewise a grant for the success in arms of Tikkariya, son of Hariharaya. 238 While an inscription of 1346 for success to Ballala and Vallappa Dananikker, 238 grant for success to Ballala and Vallappa Dananikker, 238. Likewise, in 1339 for Ballala's son Periya Vallappa Dananikker, 238 And the other references. As regards the Vijayanagara, after the Turuka war, was signified by the remission of taxes by Ballala III. In 1307, a Tamil stone inscription records a grant for success to Ballala and Vallappa Dananikker, 238. Till 1307, a Tamil stone inscription records a grant for success to Ballala and Vallappa Dananikker, 238. After the Turuka war, was signified by the remission of taxes

exists for supposing them to have been Hoyasala feudatories. In the tenth century²⁵⁰ according to V. A. Smith, better authority measures of the Muhammads in the beginning of the four Hindu governments of the Kakatiyas and Ballalas rajas by the generally admitted to have arisen out of the subversion of the Wilson who says the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire is of the Kakatiyas family.²⁵¹ In this he is supported by H. H. Even Rice says the Vijayanagara rulers may have descended from the feudatories of the Hoyasala Ballalas or of Pratapa Rudra V. A. Smith,²⁵² V. Rangachari²⁵³ and N. Venkataramayya. This view also finds favour with Sewell,²⁵⁴ Suryanarayana Rao,²⁵⁵ country, a Telenga court was maintained by a Karнатaka army. supported by foreigners and in the heart of the Karнатaka and at court. The government founded by foreigners was also origin of the empire came Telenga ascendancy, both in language and built in 1336, being completed by 1350. With this Vidyanagara, as a mark of respect to the sage and predecessor, was of supreme assistance to them. The capital was named in which the spiritual and temporal guidance of Vidyanayaka the project of the establishment of a new empire at Hampi, the Afghan army, these two brothers, warned by a vision, formed the ruler of Warangal. When the Kakatiya army was subverted by Haridra and Ballala to have been officers of the treasury of the to have been of Andhra or Telenga descent.²⁵⁶ They consider Buchanan and Willis consider the emperors of Vijayanagara question still to be decided. If Sangama held any office in the extracition,

they were feudatories of the Hoyasals, they will be of Karнатaka, they were of Andhra or Telenga descent. If, on the other hand, alleged to have, it may furnish another reason to assert that court of the Kakatiyas, as his sons Haridra and Ballala are question still to be decided. If Sangama held any office in the extracition,

227 E, C, XIII, Pg. 82, 1901 A.D.; 96 (1901 A.D.).

*are mentioned. E, C, IX, III, 3; Davana, Tharushika and Andhra hosts the kings
228 E, C, V, VI, III, 3; Davana, Tharushika and Andhra hosts the third defeat.*

E, C, VI, Kp, 26; XII, Tp, 9; Abyss. Arch. Reg., 1910, p. 60.

*229 E, C, III, Tp, 131; VIII, Tp, 201; X, Gd, 40, Ad, 168; VII,
230 E, C, X, Bg, 70; Butterworth, P, 113.*

231 Butterworth, Abd. Ins., II, 613.

232 Ins., Abd. Dis., III, P, 1097.

233 E, C, X, Gd, 40.

The king is the lord of the throne of Vijayanagara
234 *and his* journeys to the Vijayanagara court for redress of their grievances.
They must even have been harshly treated as we hear of their
to lead armies and subdue their neighbours. Deccan
Andhra kings just as the Vijayanagara emperors had later on
The Hoysala rulers in their day had fought against the
Bukka as legitimate successors of Ballala III and Ballala IV.
or Kumbhadeva, who appears to have succeeded Haribhara and
235 The Andhra defeat is referred to but not of the Hoysala
defeats at Hindupuram both under Bukka I and Haribhara
earlier and later in the former country. The Andhra went into
the rebellion in the Andhra country. The Andhra I recorded
several by the kings of Andhra Kumbhara, etc.,
Kumbhara country was record as their own. Haribhara I was
to have been confirmed territories and recorded as such. The
already go to show the former parts of the Vijayanagara Empire
the vector of Telugu lineage to the founders. The inscription
second son of the Andhra dynasty is perhaps responsible for
that Vijayanagara rulers were Kumbhara and that the
I am inclined to agree with the view of Toller) that the
Butterworth (says Toller).

Bukkadeva is a number of brands,²³⁶ the expression becomes
who records a son of Haribhara. If the latter of this
Butterworth identifies Sangama's father with Bukkadeva,
Who are the Bukka and Sangama referred to here is not certain,
Sangama is said to have been the son of one Bukka,²³⁷

- 258 *Nellore Lns.*, Butterworth, pp. 542-43; *Kundukur* 30 (1520-21),
 P. 1155; *Poddili* 4, 1514-15, *Krishnadevaraya* is the lord of Sri Kar-
 mata *Vijayanagara*, p. 1187. *Ib.*, 1515-16, 29, King of *Vijayanagara*
 of the *Karnatac*; V. *Rangachari*, Inscriptions in the *Vijayanagara*
 dency, I, p. 171; *Ginjee*, 1383, *Mac. MSS. Karnatakara* Savitara-
 carita.
 259 *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 12.
 260 Cf. with 256 *supra*, E. G., V, Ch. 179; Ak. 62, 157, 138;
 XII, Trp. 128; VII, SK. 95.
 261 E. G., V, Ch. 179; Ak. 62.
 262 E. G., X, GD. 46; *Nr.* 150; Butterworth, *Nel. Lns.*, I, p. 113.
 263 Ind. Ant., XV, p. 12.
 264 N. F. B., pp. 163-64.
 265 *Begs.*, p. 75.

ancestors of Sangama.²⁶⁵

Bhava Sangama was a villain at general, and inherited kindly qualities from his father Bhakta.²² I have already dealt with his alleged relationship to the Yadavas of Deogiri.²³ Fr. Heras discouncts the inference of Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao²⁴ relying on an epigraph in E.C., V, 1295 and referring to one Bukkanma Odegar and his father Hukkamna Odegar as

Who was Sargam?

²⁶¹ from previous Hoyala inscriptions.

The bultdas of the Hoyasala rulers and the Vijayanagara emperors bear a marked similarity and are almost alike. Further, the imprecatory verbes of the inscriptions of both are generally the same. It is significant to notice that the attitude of both towards the Andhras and Kalingas is the same.²⁶⁰ Further, the expressions used against the Andhras are borrowed

There does not appear to be much to warrant the inference of Venkayya to suppose that Hariharas and Bunkras were in the service of the Yadavas of Deogiri,²⁵ unless it be that they are said to have been employed by the Juhamadasan governors there, or that they were allied to Rāmānatiā, a descendant of Simga III.

situated in the Karimatic Kingdoms.²⁵⁸ The Andhras did not easily submit to Vijayanagara supremacy but there is no record of any great Hoyala rebellion against Vijayanagara.

266 *Beggs*, p. 69.
267 *Th.*, p. 70.
268 *Th.*, p. 70.
269 *Th.*, p. 70.
270 *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, pp. 372.
271 See also *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, pp. 372.

Sangamma married
= Sarada, 5 sons. (Rice, *Myss. Ins.*, 227;
E. G., V, Bl. 3.)
= Aframbyka. (E. G., X, Gd. 46; Mb. 158.)
= Aframbyka.
= Gaurambika.
= Aframbyka.
= Galambika.
= Kambika.
= Kambayi.
= Kamakshi.

service of the Ballākas of Dorasamudra founded the leading kingdom of Vijayanagara,²⁷² we shall get a support for Heras' view that Harihara was related to the Kesiraja family, met with in the Hoysala inscriptions. Keśava-Camunātha was born in the Yadu Vamśa, his line beginning with the Hoysalas, and his family produced most important generals for generations. They were of the purple and a Karnāta family. Several names of this family are common to that of Sangama, viz., Mādhava, Harihara, Devarasa, Mallappa.²⁷³ If we accept

²⁷² *Bcgs.*, pp. 73-4.

²⁷³ *Bom. Gaz.*, I, Pt. II, p. 637.

²⁷⁴ *E. C.*, V, Ch. 244.

that Alarappa, fourth son of Bunkka, from Kallesa acquired the
 kingdom of Chandramati,²⁸¹ it is not improbable that Sangama
 came from Kallesa in the Raudra district.²⁸² The Vijayanagara
 visit to Sringeri in 1316 A.D. may go to confirm this view.
 It is the Alahamanyadavara Tattihara referred to in a Coope-
 rative institution²⁸³ be Tattihara I. and Tattihara I is described as
 somewhat old at the time of which we are speaking, it
 would go to suggest still more clearly that he was a Toyasala
 feudatory.

Rather than in this connection also relies upon the
 statement in *Fritschidatta*²⁸⁴ according to which, with a view to
 re-establishing his country from disaster, Billa Dev (Balala II) con-
 vened a meeting of his kinmen or relatives, determined to
 fortify the forts of his country and suggested that the founders
 of Vijayanagara was one of the realists. This fact, taken
 together with the appointment of Tattihara as Alahamanya-
 dasava on an important frontier, would go to suggest he was
 a near relative of the ruling monarch. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar
 says Tattihara and Bunkka were Toyasala feudatories directed
 to control and watch the northern frontier of the Toyasala
 dominions. That Tattihara was the most prominent and
 responsible of his relations and others occupied less im-
 portant posts in the hierarchy of office is clear from the fact
 that a son-in-law was at Pemukonda in 1333²⁸⁵ and a brother-
 in-law at Chitraldrung in the same year.²⁸⁶
 Dadiya Somaiya was a Banjaryaka, a Alahamanyadales-
 varm,²⁸⁷ great minister,²⁸⁸ king's house minister,²⁸⁹ chief
 minister²⁹⁰ and king.²⁹¹ He had contractual relationships with
 Vaishnava²⁹² and king.²⁹³ He had contractual relationships with
 275 E. G., VIII, SB, 375.
 276 E. G., I, CG, 59, 1207.
 277 E. G., I, CG, 59, 1207.
 278 I, p. 427.
 279 Hegg, p. 77.
 280 E. G., IX, CP, 73; VI, CM, 105.
 281 E. G., X, Ad, 10.
 282 E. G., IX, CM, 69.
 283 E. G., V, CM, 73.
 284 E. G., XI, HE, 75.
 285 E. G., IX, CM, 105.
 286 E. G., IX, CM, 105.

the Hoysala and Vijayanagara families and his sons were ministers under Ballāla III. Heras considers he had descended from Kesiraja. Two of his sons are referred to one of whom Singeya was a nephew (son) of Ballāla III,²⁸⁶ related to him for a long time.²⁸⁷ Perhaps, his mother was a sister of Ballāla III himself,²⁸⁸ and he was a great minister of Ballāla III between the years 1318–13 A.D.²⁸⁹ Another son Vallappa or Ballappa was great minister in the palace of Poysala-Sri-Vira-Ballāla Deva in 1342,²⁹⁰ and went with Ballāla III to fight the Sultan of Madura. After Ballāla III's death, a grant is made in 1343 for the success of the sword and arm of Vallappa Dannayikar.²⁹¹ He is referred to in a number of inscriptions.²⁹² One of them, (H.K. 96) describes him as a son (meaning nephew) of the Pratāpa Cakravarti Posala-Vira-Valla Devar. He is the *aliya* or the son-in-law of the Sringeri inscription because he had married a daughter of Harihara I. E.C., VI, Sg. 1 is of 1346. I do not now refer to its genuineness or otherwise and this stone grant is regarded as genuine on all accounts. Ballāla III died in 1342. This minister, a younger brother Dati Singaya, had a son born to him about 1330 called Tanan according to E.C., X, Mr. 18. It is not unlikely that Ballāla III brought about this marriage. His high regard for Vallappa's reputation and honesty is clear from the circumstance that not only does he take him to accompany him in the most important battle of his life which proved tragic to him but suggests his regency on behalf of his son Ballāla IV. I have already referred to the recognition of Dadiya Somiah as king. Dadi Somayya in 1339 at Vijayanagara,²⁹³ probably because he was a king of ministers, and we find Vallappa Dannayikar

²⁸⁶ E. C., XI, Hk. 104.

²⁸⁷ E. C., IX, An. 80.

²⁸⁸ M. A. R., 1912–13, p. 40.

²⁸⁹ E. C., XI, Hk. 140, 140a; Cn. 10, 31; Bp. 63; E. C., X, Mr. 16.

²⁹⁰ E. C., IX, Hk. 90.

²⁹¹ E. C., X, Mr. 16.

²⁹² E. C., VI, Cm. 105; XI, Hk. 49, 90, 96.; X, Bp. 10; Mr. 10, 12, 16, 18, 28.

²⁹³ E. C., XI, Hk. 43.

to by Mr. Framasharma.
The family god of Tharibara like that of the Kampili kings was Virupaksha.²⁹⁵ The boar crest may be said to have been the emblem of Kampili or Anegondi chiefs we are unable to say. Borrowed from the Galikyan emperors. What was the crest of Kampili or Anegondi we are unable to say. It is reported from Alahambadra that the kingdom at all times was a check against Alahambadra advance and if the anxiety of the Sultan of Delhi to reduce the kingdom at all If the river as a check against Alahambadra was changed to the other side of the capital from Anegondi was unable to say. It is reported that the Anegondi chief was a devotee of Deogiri.

The family god of Tharibara may have been in the employ of Rama-
ncestors of Tharibara may have been in the employ of Rama-
deva of Deogiri, and so on to the inference of Venkayya that the first eight, and so on to Tharibara and Bunka may, at
not given but the reference to Tharibara and Bunka may, is
and Domsamudra says. The paternity of this Sangama is
described as having taken part in the wars between Kampili
is referred to in the accounts as Bhava Sangama and he is
Ramanayya and she married Sangama. This Sangama Deva
Kampili's daughter was Maramma, sister of Kampili
kingdom. This Sangama Deva was a child of the Kampili
by the Alahambadras. This Sangama Deva was a child of the Kampili
the effects of Chitradutta's disease after the capture of Deogiri
Rajadhiraja Devadeva of Deogiri, who sought service with
to a family originating from the fourth and eldest son of
is traced from Alahambadra Singa, of the Bader caste, belonging
various accounts in which the descent of Tharibara and Bunka
In the earlier part of these lectures, I have referred to the

Descent of Sangama

.
The facts will further establish the view that Tharibara
and Bunka must have been Hoyasala feudatories. There is
not one interpretation of the period which refers to Alahambadra
overlordship.
This latter-in-law, in 1361,²⁹⁶
charmon over kings with break their word, Arappa Tidaiyari,
acknowledging the authority of Alahambadalesvara, the

But why was Bukka I's general unwilling to give up Sosevür?²⁹⁶ Was it not because Harihara and Bukka were formerly under the Hoysalas?

According to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, who is the leading spokesman of the theory of a Karnātaka origin for Vijayanagara, the Kannada dynasty of the Hoysala Ballālas founded the Vijayanagara Empire. The repeated invasions of the Khiljis and Tughlaks alarmed the ruling families in the South, who thought of organised resistance. Krishnappa Nayaka, the Kākatiya of Wārangal, laid the first stone for the foundation. The Hindu tradition of Vidyāranya's assistance to Harihara and Bukka may have support from some Muhammadan sources but the origin of Empire was more prosaic according to the Muhammadan historians. The struggle in the South for a distinct and independent existence has gone on for over two thousand years and the people have stood at bay the all-destroying forces of attack on Hinduism from the time of Asoka. Consequently, the Vijayanagara episode is but an incident in that great struggle for securing national liberty by a sovereign ruler of Mysore, Ballāla III. A glance at the map will show that on the conquest of Deogiri and the defeat of Wārangal, nearest to the danger zone was the Hoysala, but he was conveniently placed to work unnoticed.²⁹⁷ Dr. Aiyangar refers to Ibn Batuta's account for showing that Ballāla aimed at the conquest of the whole coast of the Coramandel and was able to put into the field 100,000 men, in addition to 20,000 Muhammadans as against a Muhammadan army of 6,000. Thus, though eighty years old, Ballāla could be expected to withstand Harihara and Bukka had they thought of advancing against him. It is impossible to believe any enmity between Ballāla and Harihara existed.

If we agree that *Rājakālanirṇaya* is not of much historical value as conceded by Gopinatha Rao,²⁹⁸ admit that their capital was in the Kannada country as accepted by

²⁹⁶ E. C., VI, Mg. 25.

²⁹⁷ Q. J. M. S., XI, pp. 13-14.

²⁹⁸ Ep. Ind., XV, p. 10.

305 E., C., IX, He.
 306 E., C., I., Cg., 59.
 307 E., C., VI, Cm., 10.
 308 Sturrock, South C.
 309 E., C., V, Ak., 183.
 310 E., C., IX, He., 13.

If we look at the interpretations of the period, we will find that between 1330 and 1349, four inscriptions describe him as residing in Vijayanagara. Only one in 1331, he is placed in Cholasamudra, there is no interpretation of his at Guntakal between 1310 and 1319, four inscriptions describe him as sumatra in 1331, Tariqbari was made Alahambadadevaria. shortly after, according to tradition, in 1335-36, the Empire of Vijayanagara was founded. Then Tariqbari did not assert his independence as clear and even Dr. Venkata Ramamayya only suggests that Tariqbari was in a position to throw off any foreign yoke in 1310. There is no indication that he was able to do so in 1335-36. Besides, Ballala IV was mounted at Vijayanagara in 1310.⁵⁰ Now, if Tariqbari built a fort at Vijayanagara in 1335-36, there is no indication that he was any longer in 1310. There is no indication that he was in Tariqbari in 1330 and even Dr. Venkata Ramamayya only suggests that Tariqbari was in a position to throw off his independence as clear and even Dr. Venkata Ramamayya only suggests that Tariqbari was in a position to throw off his way of inspection, and saw the condition of his army there in 1338,⁵¹ as it follows that like the Vijayalsas the mesates who were some of the king's supporters, living in happiness, as sole monarch by his own was a victory of Ballala because, in 1339, Ballala was at Tariqbari and Alahambadadevaria under the Gangas, Tariqbari was a victory of Ballala because it had not have thought of the king's kingdom, Tariqbari and Alahambadadevaria could not have been put into the field a gigantic army besides Alahambadadevaria into the Sultan's army at the time was not more than 6,000. The Sultan's army at the time was not more than 6,000. Assuming that Tariqbari and Alahambadadevaria were subordinates of the Delhi Sultan and could rely on his support, nevertheless it cannot be imagined that they would have demanded of measure to be interpreted as a measure of measure.

Kampili Deva at Anegondi. It is further suggested that they may have afterwards gone to Ballāla III at Dorasamudra. These would not be inconsistent, even if true, with the theory of Hoysala overlordship. They may have left Anegondi finding their position there intolerable owing to war with the Sultan then going on for a considerable time. The only question is how far this would fit in with the view of Heras that they belonged to the Kesaraja's family as old as the Hoysala themselves, for which there is support in the marital connections between the Hoysalas and Vijayanagara kings. According to the inscriptions, the person associated with the government of Ballāla IV, who is also a relation of Ballāla III, is associated with Harihara and Bukka and accompanies them to Sringeri on the occasion of the festival of empire in 1346.

I have already adverted to the proposition of the vassalage to the Delhi Sultan and endeavoured to establish that it was not likely Harihara and Bukka were the Muhammadan viceroys ruling at Anegondi, with a force sufficient to advance against the Hoysala and beat him. Ballāla had a powerful army, ready to put into the field, against any invading foe. There is no evidence of any scuffle between them in this part of the country. Indeed, after peace was restored, Ballāla and the Kampili kings are said to have marched against Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal. Hence, even if Harihara and Bukka were in the service of Rāmanātha, there would be no inconsistency in presuming their later subordination to the Hoysalas.

Enthronement of Harihara by Ballāla III

We have already observed that about the time of the conquest of the Kākatiya kingdom by the Muhammadans occurred the first important move of Ballāla III to Tiruvuṇṇāmalai. The object of this move was to strengthen the forts of his country on the northern frontier. I have further referred to the numerous inscriptions which record his residence at Tiruvuṇṇāmalai and Vijayanagara from time to time. I have also stated how private grants were made, from time to time, in different parts of the Hoysala dominions, for the success

Chamaraja built a fortress, describes Harihara I as the glorious Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, in his article on the First Vijayanagara Dynasty, stated that Ballāla's change of capital from Dorasamudra to Tiruvanṇāmalai was due not only as a defence against Muhammadan aggression but to the rising power of his feudatories Harihara and Bukka.³¹¹ Even though this view of Krishna Sastri gains some support from the statement of Ibn Batuta³¹² that a Muhammadan chief of Honnavar was subject to the overlordship of a heathen monarch Hariappa in 1342, and this Hariappa was no other than Harihara I as attested by numerous inscriptions, Heras does not agree with it. He is supported in his inference that Harihara did all this as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, if we rule out the conflicts referred to in poetic accounts between Ballāla and Kampila in which Bhava Sangama took part with the *Bhandāra Cūvīlas*, Harihara and Bukka, in the inscription of 1341 which describes Ballāla as being pleased to rule the earth in peace.³¹³ Unless Harihara was acting under the authority of Ballāla, we could not expect the Hoysala Emperor to neglect his insubordinate chiefs in his own country and march against the Sultan of Madura. For, we find him engaged in war with the latter and in the course of a bitter struggle at Beribi (Chirchi) being killed in 1342. Much less³¹⁴ could we expect the quiet coronation of Ballāla IV thereafter. It may, however, be possible to suggest that this meek and submissive prince gave the much-needed opportunity for Harihara and Bukka to assert themselves, as a consequence of which the Hoysalas fast disappeared from history. In an inscription of 1346, Ballāla appears as a name without any distinguishing titles whatever.

³¹¹ A. S. I. Report, 1907-08, p. 236.

³¹² IV, p. 68.

³¹³ E. C., X, Mr. 82.

³¹⁴ Ibn Batuta, IV, p. 198.

ment of the country with Ballala IV when he became king and, the association of Ballappa Dananayaka in the government about 1310 or thereabouts he was born there. On the other or that he had sent his people for safety to Hampi and that an inference that Ballala III had run away from Dvarasamudra, and it is hard to conjecture. There is no evidence to support have been born at Hampi but the age of Ballala is not given capital. There is a suggestion of the Hoyasalas with the Vijayanagara proof of the connection of the Hoyasalas with the Vijayanagara known as Haumapha, etc.²⁷ after Hampi, marking a further and Ballala, the Emperor. Further, a son of Ballala III was shows the terms of amity between Alahamadalevarai Haribara in the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire is significant. It measure, of the heir-apparent of the Hoyasala should take place to be admitted later on. That the coronation, as an emergency was christened as Sri Virya Vijaya Virupaksha Purusha, after Ballala IV, happiness, as sole monarch by his own valour.²⁸ It had been was in the Hoyasala dominions, where Ballala was ruling I have already drawn your attention to the fact that Hampi of the Hoyasala Ballalas of Dvarasamudra.

as lords of Kunthal, kings of the Karatta country and successors of the Hoyasala Ballalas of the Karatta country and successors as the natural and rightful successors of the Gangas in Mysoor, so that Gangas, just as the Hoyasalas regarded themselves as the in fact, behaved in this manner against their erstwhile masters, against the titular sovereign himself. Hoyasalas themselves, by the circumstances of the time, including perhaps a war with an independent existence or avertitioas as may be dictated that a nominal recognition of the suzerainty is not inconsistent was the first to be styled emperor of the south.²⁹ This shows acknowledge their alliance to the Chalukyas and Ballala II Hoyasala inscription from Vimayaditya to Virya Ballala II relations between the Hoyasalas and the Vijayanagara Princes

goes to indicate that he may have been a minor about 1343 A.D. This negatives the hypothesis of his birth at Hampe in 1310 or 1311. But it could not have been this prince was taken captive to Delhi on the sack of Dorasamudra in 1310 and who had returned in 1316. In 1327, the theory of plunder of Dorasamudra is not generally believed and the only question that then arose was probably the surrender of Bahāudin.

If Harihara and Bukka accompanied Bahāudin, why was their surrender also not demanded and enforced by the Sultan of Delhi ? Is it likely that they were not considered of sufficient importance for the purpose ? Or, they being Hoysala feudatories, Ballāla took upon himself the responsibility for their good behaviour ? These suggestions conflict with the accounts of their captivity at Delhi and subsequent release. I am only putting forward a view for serious consideration. Harihara was perhaps a relation and was made Mahāmāndaleśvara. In any case, Harihara and Bukka preserved the integrity of the Hoysala Empire, continued to recognise Hoysala grants, were ornaments of the Karnātaka country and were upholders of the religion and *dharma* of the Hoysalas.

Loyalty of the Sangama Dynasty to the Hoysalas

From the enthronement of Harihara I as his Mahāmāndaleśvara by Ballāla III, the position which he occupied in guarding the vulnerable frontiers on the northern side of the Hoysala Empire and the intimate relationships that existed between the Emperor Ballāla and the sons of Sangama, the feudatories may be expected to have stood loyally and faithfully towards their master. The circumstances of the period also demanded integration. Apart from a few stray incidents of an earlier time such as the scuffle at Barakur and the claims of Rāmanātha and Bhava Sangama to have humbled Ballāla, which we have endeavoured to explain, it will be seen that no war for supporting the majesty of the Vijayanagara arms was fought in the Hoysala country. Harihara and Bukka go to Sringeri in the very heart of the Hoysala Empire, far away from Vijayanagara, to celebrate what is called the festival

321 E. C., IX, Ma. 81.
322 JIad. Ep. Rep., 1906, p. 522.

It is not known whether Ballala IV left any heir at all or whether Hariharra was not the nearest of all his relatives then alive. Even if Jayyili Nayaka was a son, he must have died before Ballala as he is not referred to after 1340.²¹ However, a couple of years later in 1355, we find Hariharra described as

of empire, a field of cloth of gold. They are acknowledged
throughout the empire without a murmur as legitimate and
natural successors of the Hoysalas. The Hoysalas do not
run into holes and caves with the Andhras. Such wars as
those were in which Ballala III and his army took part were
against the forces of the Delhi Emperor or the Sultan of Jaipur,
not to speak of certain petty chieftains in the west who were
querred all the kingdoms, the implication would be that his
predecessors had left the empire in an unsettled condition,
even with regard to those masters: and evidences of war and rebellion in the
Hoysala country would have been forthcoming. 1346 is the
year which marks the exit of the last Hoysala Emperor
Ballala IV and the celebration at Sringeri by Harihar and
Bukka of the festival of empire. Vallappa Dantayika who
attends the festivities was associated with the administration
of Ballala's government. A peaceful and quiet transition,
therefore, becomes evident. In that year, again, Harihar I's
authority in the common Hoysala Empire was also recognized.¹⁴⁸
I have also referred to certain remission of taxes issued with
royal seal under Harihar in Jalur. He appears with some
titles over kings who break their word, etc.¹⁴⁹ These identical
of the common Hoysala titles, subduer of hostile kings, char-
acter, Bukka was ruling at the Hoysala capital itself.¹⁵⁰

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Harihara Rāya Wodeyar.³²² Likewise, in the same year, Bukka is described as a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara ruling at Hosapattana in the Hoysala country.³²³ Further, an inscription of Bukka I refers to the country of the strong armed king Viṣṇuvardhana Pratāpa Hoysala³²⁴ where he then resided, indicating the regard he had to the Ballāla country. The loyalty of the Sangama dynasty to the Hoysala may be said to be undisputed.

Fr. Heras reads into *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 59 and *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256 that when Ballāla IV died, Bukka took the place of Yuvaraja or heir-apparent, and that till then both were only Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras. There is, in fact, no inscription which refers to them otherwise till 1346. Harihara is never called king but always Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara;³²⁵ Bukka is so called in 1344 and in 1346.³²⁶

That the Vijayanagara kings always recognised their great debt of gratitude to the Hoysala dynasty is further exemplified by the fact that long after the last vestiges of the Hoysalas had disappeared, the rulers of Vijayanagara continued to be called Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras like the Hoysalas before them with reference to the Cālukyas. Three inscriptions of Harihara between the years 1347 and 1355 and a number of inscriptions of the reign of Bukka for a period of close upon two decades describe the rulers of Vijayanagara who are lords of the earth between the oceans, east and west, as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras. A list of them is given by Heras collected from the archæological publications, and the interested reader is referred to them.³²⁷ Harihara II was the first to take away these distinctions of subordination and proclaim himself emperor; till then, princes, great chieftains and Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras

³²² *M. A. R.*, 1919, p. 33.

³²³ *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, p. 339.

³²⁴ *E. C.*, IV, Ch. 113.

³²⁵ 1339–40, *Ind. Ant.*, X, 63; *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1; VIII, Th. 154; IX, Bn. 47, 59; X, Mr. 61 (1346).

³²⁶ 1344—*E. C.*, X, Ct. 89; 1346—IX, Bn. 59.

³²⁷ Heras, *Beng.*, pp. 111–12.

of his kinsmen and to his arrangement for protecting the
It *Ferishta's* reference to Billa Dev convening a meeting

for the defence of the Empire."

some of , his kinsmen , whom Ballala had convened to prepare
governor of the ancient capital of Dorasamudra ; evidently
Marappa in the west. Balka himself was perhaps appointed
Kampha, in the east, Harithara and Balka in the centre,
confided to the valour and loyalty of the sons of Sangama :
,, Thus, the whole northern frontier of the Hoyasala Empire was
brothers with reference to the Hoyasala Empire in these words :
Fr. Heras sums up the position of Harithara and his

there was no hostile army in their vast dominions.

proclaiming themselves as emperors , more particularly when
to Singeri, and they would not be likely to be afraid of
violently in 1346, marched triumphantly from Vijayanagara
Muhammadan rulers by princes who celebrated the festival of
supporters the theory of loyalty more than that of fear of the
protection of the Hindu religion. This latter statement
in an organised struggle for separate existence and for the
Hoyasala Empire was a supreme Hindu effort led by Vira Ballala
development of his great theory that the origin of the Vijaya-
in the beginning but that view is hardly consistent with the
whether it implies Harithara and Balka as Muhammadan vassals
and his successors in assuming royal titles.³² I do not know
in the south of India was responsible for the delay in Harithara
Ajyanagar suggests that the strong position of the Muhammads
In concluding this portion of the subject, Dr. S. K.

revealed the cruel fate of Ballala III.

reed the South from the Muhammadan yoke, and thus
Sultans were like the enemies of Harithara and Balka. They
Ballala III's enemies, the Emperor of Delhi and the Madura
love and affection and esteem and regard for the Hoyasala rulers.
absence of the imperial title of Maharajadhiraja indicates their
cessors, in whose Karnataka country, they held sway. The
were they, thereby showing regard to their political prede-

foris of his country be in 1328, as it probably was, the fact is significant. On the conquest of Wārangal in 1327 by the Muhammadans, Kanya Nayak or Krishna Nayaka must have met Ballāla III in 1328. The meeting place must have been Tiruvuṇṇāmalai where we find Ballāla during the course of this year. The kinsmen referred to were probably his great ministers and generals Ballappa Dānnayaka and Singeyā Nayaka, for they were also at this place at the time ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom.^{ss9} A number of other generals had joined Ballāla on the occasion. The strong armed Bhīmarāya, the princes Kathora Hara, Simha-Raghunātha, Kālamegha, and Vīra Śānta, and Raicheyya Dānnayaka are mentioned, from which an inference is made that the question was of great and urgent importance. Kathora Hara is identified as Harihara.^{ss0} This gathers strength from an earlier inscription of Ballāla III,^{ss1} mentioning Devappa-Hariappa immediately after the emperor and describing him as *Sarvādhikari*, thus indicating that Harihara was probably a minister for peace and war, a state officer of Ballāla, in that part of the country at the time.

Birudas of the Two Dynasties

Let us compare the birudas of the two dynasties, Hoysala and Vijayanagara. We shall see it will be very interesting indeed. The Hoysalas were descended of the Yadu race and its great ornaments. They were in fact—

Ornaments of the Yadu Vamśa

Upraisers, kings of the Yadukula, and

Suns in the Yādava Sky, in the

Sky of the Yadu Kula, in the Yadu family.

Indeed, it was Yadu Vamśa which became known as Hoysala Vamśa.^{ss2} If we should follow Heras' view that Sangama was born of the Kesiraja family, then he belonged to a line

^{ss9} E. C., XI, Cd. 4.

^{ss0} Ecgs., pp. 128-25. Cf. Venkataramanayya's criticisms in his 'Origins'.

^{ss1} E. C., VII, Sh. 19.

^{ss2} E. C., V, Hn. 65; Bl. 86, 171, etc.

Very few inscriptions mention Harithara I, probably because he was an old man and was all but eclipsed by his greater brother, Bunka. The other brothers were governing the different parts of the kingdom as viceroys. Harithara, Bunka, Jayappa, Kampana and Alaudappa were five brothers and the relations between them must have been very cordial.

If Deo Rao be taken to be Harithara I and not Ballala IV and if we follow Xaniz, we shall find that Harithara ruled for seven years and died, therefore, in 1313, calculating from 1336

In our account, so far, we have sufficiently indicated the feelings that governed the rulers of Vijayanagara towards their erstwhile masters the Hoyasadas. We have there found how reverential they were to the acts of the Hoysala emperors and to their several grants. It was only after Ballala IV died, that Bukka became a瑜伽士 of his apparent.

Relations between Harithara and his Brothers later were

Besides, like the titans, the peers of the heroes of Yaud
Yavasa, boon lord of Dvaravati plain, undivided heir of the orders
of the old kings of Thysasland, the impregnable vassals in
the inscriptions of both dynasties in the Kannada language
are the same.

The Vijayanagara kings even as late as 1356, the year perhaps when Harihara died and was succeeded by Binkka, are both called *Alahamandalesvaras*, like the Togysada emperors, Binkka is also styled a destroyer of unlers, the conqueror of hostile kings, the lord of the eastern and western oceans, the punisher of kings who break their word, a thunder-bearer of justice, a king at the head of the mountaineers of hostile kings, a king who smote the earth trembles, a lion to the bandits of whose sword the earth trembles, a lion to the all, are the titles of Togysada kings. They also became *Surya-*

the traditional date for the origin of the empire. If, on the other hand, we equate Deo Rao with Ballāla III and still give seven years to Harihara, dating from 1346, the year of Ballāla IV's death, the date will be about 1353 A.D. I have already stated that, according to an inscription of 1346, Ballāla appears without any title whatsoever and there are indications to suggest that Harihara died in 1355 and was succeeded by Bukka I in the year in which both are described as Mahā-maṇḍaleśvaras.²²² This also appears probable because it was in 1347 that the Muhammadans were able to throw off the Delhi overlordship and found the Bahamini Kingdom.

If Harihara I were to be succeeded by Bukka I and the relations between the brothers were cordial, there appearing nothing to the contrary, it follows that if Harihara had any sons they should have predeceased him. There is no evidence of any fratricidal strife for succession to the throne, or of the existence of a son after Harihara's death.

Kampana was performing the arduous task of keeping the Muhammadans at bay in the Nellore district on the northern frontier. Udayagiri being fortified as a bulwark against advance from Wārangal. Sangama II, son of Kampana, mentions Harihara I in the grant. Sāyana, the famous commentator and brother of Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya, was a minister at this court and if the suggestion of Vidyāraṇya being all influential at the Court of Vijayanagara be true, the consolidation of the Empire, with equal amity and good feeling amongst the brothers, gains additional weight.

Bukka I was the most famous of the brothers and accompanied Harihara to Sringeri in 1346, according to *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1. During his brother's lifetime, he was made Yuva-raja.²²³ As early as 1346,²²⁴ both the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras, with their usual titles, Ariyappa Udaiyar and Bukka Udaiyar, were ruling the earth. This must have continued till 1355.

²²² *M. A. R.*, 1919, p. 33.

²²³ *E. C.*, V, Ch. 258.

²²⁴ *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 59 (1346).

the last reference to Harithara being in that year.³⁶ In that
year, Bukkan was said to have been ruling from the jewelled
throne at the capital. It is not impossible that during
Harithara's lifetime, Bukkan was governing from Dorasamudra
where he was ruling in 1352 as a Yuvaraja.³⁷ Heras makes a
certain suggestion, not altogether without some basis, that
Balkala III might have left Bukkan at Dorasamudra about
in the Hoyasala dominions in his day and for the command
of the empire. The easy transition of overlordship
possibly indicates that Bukkan was securing himself upon the
throne of the empire. Not that he was able to command
Balkala was absent abroad, entirely his position which
lolving regard of the people. Not that he was administrator with
his designs but that a good sound administration met times
its inevitable sequel when the opportunity arose and times
were propitious.

The fourth son of Sangama was Narappa who was ruling
at Gadraghatti in the western parts called the Alaleraya
or Araga kingdom. His expeditions are extolled in an inscrip-
tion of 1357.³⁸ The theory of Heras suggests that he was
originally Balkala III's viceroy in those parts does not fit in
with his sufferings with Bharava Sangama. This question has,
however, been already dealt with in his jurisdiction
to that part of the country when a fort was built there and
with certain inscriptions which refer to Balkala III ruling
over him. His signature is not found in those parts does not fit in
with his signature in his country when a fort was built there and
can be added. The chief of Tonmavara in his jurisdiction
have died before Harithara and Bukkan came to prominence.
All the brothers visited Sriingeri in 1346 and naturally the
others recognised the superiority of the eldest of them, Harithara I.
336 A. R., 1919, p. 23.
337 Ad. Ep. Rep., 1906, p. 522.
338 E. C., VIII, SB., 375.

Contribution of the Sringeri Matha to the Great South Indian Confederation of the Hindus

Describing the condition of South India in the early fourteenth century when, after the inroads of Allauddin Khilji into the South, the Muhammadan stood as arbiter for a time, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the well-known historian of the South Indian kingdoms, says that they soon recovered, thus marking a period of Hindu progress in all directions. For, Hinduism then assumed its present shape. Religion was readjusted to the requirements of the masses. Classical Sanskrit as well as indigenous literature received considerable patronage. Administration was highly organised. Revivalism in religion and reinvestigation received a great impetus. When Muhammadan invasions broke in overturning everything, local reaction led to the foundation of a large and united Hindu Empire.³³⁹

As V. A. Smith says : "The influence exercised by Rāmānuja and other southern sages on the whole country from Cape Comorin to the recesses of the snowy mountains is the best evidence of that inner unity of Hindu India which survives the powerful disintegrating forces set in motion by diversity in blood, manners, customs and political allegiance."³⁴⁰ In spite of political upheavals, the spirit of India always guards a common heritage and there is an amazing unity in her diversity. Indian culture is wide spread all over the country and in the words of Sir Frederick Whyte (*The future of the East and West*), the greatest of all the contradictions in India is that over this diversity is spread a greater unity, which is not immediately evident because it failed historically to find expression in any political cohesion to make the country one,

³³⁹ *His. of South India*, Vol. I; Sewell, *F. E.*, p. 64; Bego, *S. K. I.*, pp. 143-51; Beveridge, I, p. 91; V. A. Smith, *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 300.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

In this account of the Vizayavangara Empire, three rebels brothers took advantage of the period of commotion arising kindoms had fallen a prey to the Zamorins and the sage who was evidently instrumental for it. The Timdu all accounts, the capital was named after him, in honour Kadava, in the foundation of the Empire, as agreed to by the assistance rendered by Vidyavanyaya, the celebrated scholar

Vaidyava devives, in

the distinctly Savite empires unlike the later ones having recollection as a state religion. The gods of the earlier kings indicate a complete revival of the old Hindu religion and its

The emperors on the coins of the Vizayavangara dynasty

Vidyavanyaya's contribution to the foundation, in

Bukka with other ruling families, nevertheless refer to where they differ regarding the relationships of Tigranna and Vizayavangara, Rongan travellers of their impressions, even they and have left written records of the famous Vizayavangara. Rongan travellers regarding the origin of time is interested by every tradition extant in the one of whom was Vidyavanyaya, whose actual existence in the puns of Timdu being used by a succession of religious rulers

, several refers to the possibility of the oldest shrine at the minister of the new state, in

prise by the head of the Sangam Aljuna, who became the first confounded with the Hoyasadas and were added in the latter stage of history. This war, probably, subordinates of or immediately on the disappearance of the Hoyasadas from the about 1336, Tigranna and Bukka founded Vizayavangara, Mr. Longhurst says that according to most authorities,

deeply affected by owing within its influence, the Australuan world of India has to consider that it has been but which is so great a body, and so powerful, that even

out of the rash measures of Muhammad Taghlak. Mādhava may have contributed besides experience and talent, financially towards this undertaking. For, the gurus of the Sringeri Maṭha were at that time, according to Wilson, apprehensive of the increasing number of Jangamas and the approach of the Muhammadans. Their wealth and influence were consequently placed at the disposal of Harihara and Bukka.

Though Harihara and Bukka are generally credited with the foundation of Vijayanagara, with the financial assistance, perhaps, and advice of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda of Sringeri, as we have set out previously, Ballāla III must have participated in the foundation, even if he were not primarily responsible for it. The great veneration in which the Hoysala Emperors were held by the Vijayanagara rulers, long after the dismemberment of the Hoysala dominions and the firm establishment of Vijayanagara, lends remarkable support to this view. The famous Keśava temple at Belur commanded the devotion of Harihara II, who in the very first year of his reign, 1380, confirmed the former Hoysala grants to the temple.³⁴⁵ The Belur god, among other things, raises up the poor to royal dignity. Hoysala kings were illustrious and Viṣṇuvardhana was illustrious, according to this inscription of the Vijayanagara ruler. Thus, the Vijayanagara kings, true to the teachings of Vidyāraṇya, fostered a spirit of toleration, the basic principle of the old Vedic religion.³⁴⁶

We are told that Vidyāraṇya or the gurus at Sringeri rendered considerable assistance, financial and otherwise, in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire.³⁴⁷ Numerous inscriptions relate the story of Vidyāraṇya and describe his influence with the early Vijayanagara kings; historians and travellers record the traditions they heard in this behalf; but the actual references to the part played by the Sringeri Maṭha

³⁴⁵ Rice, *Mys. Col. Ins.*, p. 226.

³⁴⁶ *Q. J. M. S.*, III, p. 9.

³⁴⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 63; *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, pp. 340-41; Elliot, *Coins*, p. 91.

and it we exclude those that refer to Vidyāśākara, it will be found that the contribution of the Śrīmgeri Mātātha except for the great personalities of the period is not much. Besides, except that the Śrīmgeri Mātātha was founded by Sri Śāṅkarā, very little is known about its religious or secular activities till the beginnings of Vidyāśākara. Its importance and rise to fame is contemporaneous with the great Empire, and may be considered sufficient to warrant the general inference regarding contribution of its gurus in the origin of the edifice which preserved the religion and the Dharma of the Hindus.

As regards the rulers that may have joined in this great Hindu confederation, we have described in detail and stated clearly (1) that the people of Deogiri may have sympa- thised, with much reason, with the movement, though that kingdom itself was a Hindu kingdom, (2) that in 1328 a meeting was held between his kinsmen and arranged for fortifying Ballala at the time and took a prominent part as his viceroy's, their reputation for founding the Empire is confirmed by Ballala III about 1328, when the latter were later on released by the Sultan to fight Balala in the South, then there was no South Indian organization as alleged. I have fully dealt with this aspect before and I am now sum- ming the position taken up formerly that Haribara and Būrka were Hōysala feudatories, perhaps also related to them, and joined in the foundation of the Empire. Why should the gurus of Śrīmgeri have associated them- selves with this political movement of the Hindu Rajas ? Two reasons have been suggested, one, the fear of the Jangamas (the ascetics) and the other, the increasing number of Jangamas (the ascetics)

of the Lingayat community) in the country. Amongst others may be mentioned the following :—

1. When Śrīrangam was captured and sacked by the Muhammadans in 1327, the God was taken for refuge, followed by Pillai Lokācārya.³⁴⁸ On the occasion of the Muhammadan occupation, fearing the temple in danger, the Ranganātha deity was removed ultimately to Tirupati. Vedānta Desika himself was a refugee at Satyamangalam.³⁴⁹ Sri Vaiṣṇavas, no less than the Smārthas, were afraid of Muhammadan hegemony and were anxious to join in an all-Hindu confederacy to drive the Muhammadan from South India. Vedānta Desika, though he externally championed Vaiṣṇavism against Śaivism and its great leader Vidyāranya, was internally opposed to heretics and anxious to protect Hinduism itself.³⁵⁰

2. The followers of the Dvaita or Madhvā school of Hindu thought likewise associated themselves with Vidyāranya sinking, for the time, their sectional differences.

3. The statesmanship and political foresight of Vidyāranya was assisted by his friendship with the leaders of other religious schools of thought and his supreme influence at the court of the Vijayanagara rulers was of great aid in the accomplishment of this remarkable undertaking.

Vidyāśankara

The most outstanding reference to Vidyātīrtha or Vidyāśankara is to be found in the Sringeri inscription of 1346.³⁵¹ Bukka became great with the assistance of Vidyātīrthamuni.³⁵² His grace helped Bukka to become king and sole lord.³⁵³

In the *Mysore Archaeological Reports for 1928*, published by the Mysore University, a narrative of the teachers of Sringeri

³⁴⁸ *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 111.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

³⁵⁰ *Life and Times of Vedanta Desika*, V. Rangachari, p. 278.

³⁵¹ *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1.

³⁵² Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 11.

³⁵³ *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46, 1377.

he is referred to with reverence, along with others.²⁵⁷ When extensive bands, likewise, in the Srimgeri Kadita of 1380, when Bukkan visited him to pay him homage, he granted internal and external darshans of men both day and night. Accepts, surpassing the Sun by his ability to remove both the

He is praised in another inscription of 1366, as Lord of the Srimgeri, in the Chinnadra (teaching) pose.²⁵⁸ Of their Empire,²⁵⁹ There are also images of Vidyatirtha in Harridra and Bukkan were helped by him in the foundation of temples owing to his sanctity and learning. It was likely, however, that was specially honoured and revered by the early Vijaya-gurus at Srimgeri. For, he secured a high status for the Brahmins, as perhaps the greatest name in the list of the Vidyatirtha, as perhaps the character in J. A. F., 1916, refers to two Bahadur Xarastimukherji in

as Vidyatirtha.

As Vidyasankara initiated him into the sunya upanishads, Srimgeri a few years afterwards, admiring his learning, received Shivarati Kirtana, Alabharava followed, in search of him, and as Brahmin left Varanasi, having no taste for worldly pleasures, settled on a pilgrimage and reached Srimgeri in the course of a pilgrimage, where he was initiated by Vidyasankara, set out on a pilgrimage and reached Srimgeri in the course of Vidyasankara was learned in all the sastras and expert in kirtana and austerities. The younger of the two sons of a learned Brahmin left Varanasi, having no taste for worldly pleasures, in kirtana and austerities. The younger of this account, Vidyatirtha the summary.²⁶⁰ According to this account, Vidyatirtha publishing the summary,²⁶¹ Avoridding to a critical examination, before said to have been subjected to a critical examination, before final information regarding the degradation of Srimgeri. It is said as recording a faithful account of all available tradition and as respects the work to be of considerable historical value besides the work of Krishnabhаратi Swami. Dr. Krishnam con-siders a disciple of Krishnabhаратi Swami, Dr. Krishnam con-sidered under the orders of Saividamanda Bhagavati (1705-1741), Saivist, under the orders of Saividamanda Bhagavati, son of Visvesvara is given, the account is taken from Guruvanmanu karyam, a

Bukka wanted Vidyāraṇya to return from Kāśī to Vijayanagara, he got an order from Vidyātīrtha.³⁵⁸ When a temple, a most beautiful type of Hoysala architecture, was constructed at Sringeri to his memory, on the occasion of the consecration ceremony, vast lands were granted.³⁵⁹

No doubt, there are some discrepancies regarding dates. According to tradition, the consecration of the temple was in 1338 ; the Bithragunta grant suggests it was after 1356 ;³⁶⁰ *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1, implies the existence of Vidyāśankara in 1346. If there could be two sanyāsīs at the same time, only one of them occupying the pontifical office, of which there is evidence, there is nothing improbable in the inscriptions referring to both of them, or either of them.

The greatness of Vidyātīrtha is described in another inscription of 1386. "None of the four kinds of speech, *parā*, *paśyanti*, *madhyamā* and *raikarī*, is capable of adequately describing the greatness of Vidyātīrtha."³⁶¹ "The swan Bukka sports happily near the lotus Bhāratitīrtha which having sprung from Vidyātīrtha (the water of learning), possesses the fragrance of joy from a knowledge of non-dualism and expands by the rays of the sun Vidyāraṇya."³⁶²

Prof. Venkateswara considers that Harihara and Bukka must have made homage at Anegondi to Vidyātīrtha who was the guru at Sringeri at the time, according to epigraphical evidence.³⁶³ Bukka was a worshipper at the lotus feet of Vidyātīrtheśa.³⁶⁴

This Vidyātīrtha is said to have been known as Śrīkanṭha before he became a sanyāsi.³⁶⁵ He was a disciple of

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³⁵⁹ See also, *Q.J.M.S.*, VIII, p. 18 in *tra.*

³⁶⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 23.

³⁶¹ *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 58.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³⁶³ *New Lights*, p. 7.

³⁶⁴ *M. A. R.*, 1908 and 1915.

³⁶⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, III, 23.

Parameśamātrīthā. According to Prof. Venkateswara, Vidyā-
 trīthā, Bhāratīthīthā and Śrīkāntīthā refer to the same individual
 guru who was also known as Vidyāśankara.³⁶⁶ He further
 considers his second name as Sarvajīha Viśnū, son of Sarvajīha.
 Jyoti, Sarvajīha Viśnū had another brother called Chennū.
 Tīrakīya and D. R. A. S., 1916, in support of his inference,
 and considers Śreyas' reference to Śatīśa Sarvajīha Viśnū
 that probably in Śatīśa Sarvajīha Viśnū, son of Sarvajīha
 of this,³⁶⁶ the greatness of the guru is undoubtred.

If the Viśayānagarā hindūdūma came to Būkka from a place
 was the son of Śubhagupta. His dates are 1296-1314. The
 Vidyāśankara was also called Sarvajīha Viśnū, Vidyāśankara, Vidyāśankara,
 lived for seventy-three years at Raṭṭha, made penance for
 fifteen years at the foot of the Thimayātīra as an *āśrama*
 of Śankara, and later revived Śrīmērti where the Lingayat
 influence was adhering the Raṭṭha. He was the guru of Aladhapāva,
 Būkka and Bharatiyātī. According to the legend Aladhapāva,
 the eulogies, Śankarānanda will be a disciple of Vidyāśankara,
 and afterwards becomes devamātrīthā and navāśankara,
 thus adding to the confusion of the names already existing.³⁶⁷

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- 366 *New Lights*, p. 11.
 367 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
 368 XD, 46.
 369 *Punyādikāmāngurī*, 51-52.
 370 A. S., 1925-26, p. 137.
 371 E. C., VII, SK, 281.
 372 E. C., V, Ch, 256.
 373 E., C., XI, DG, 28.

Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiya deals in detail with this subject of Rājaguru Kriyāśakti in an exhaustive article contributed to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*,³⁷⁴ and I shall have occasion to consider it later on. But I have mentioned it here because, a Mulbagal inscription engraved on the wall of a temple says that when a guru Kriyāśakti went to heaven, Bukka II made a gift of lands to his guru who had now taken the form of Vidyāśankara. This was in 1389 A.D.³⁷⁵ While Mr. R. Narasimhachar considers this gift to have been made for the image in Sringeri,³⁷⁶ Dr. Venkatasubbaiya considers it to have been for Kriyāśakti. Mr. Narasimhachar's suggested identification of Kriyāśakti with Vidyātīrtha is not accepted by him. There is a view that the reference may be to Vidyāraṇya himself. A study of the image at Hampe would suggest this identification. (See *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 232-235.)

Sāyana and his Brothers

Let us now pass on from Vidyātīrtha to Mādhava and his brothers Sāyana and Bhogaṇātha. The family of Mādhava is sometimes traced to Pyapali in the Kurnool District. It is said to have been Mādhavācārya's residence for some time and a branch of the Hampe Virūpākṣa Mutt exists there.

Mādhava, Sāyana and Bhogaṇātha were brothers and they were sons of Māyana and Śrimatī of Bhāradvāja gotra, Bodhāyana sūtra and Yajus śākha.³⁷⁷ The brothers were all well disposed towards Harihara and Bukka and with their assistance established the prosperity of the Karnāṭaka kingdom. There is a suggestion that the family name was Sāyana. The sister of the brothers was Singale.³⁷⁸ Mādhava and Sāyana are described as great ministers.³⁷⁹ Mādhava was styled Sarvajña, all-knowing.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁴ *E. C.*, VII, p. 157, Intro.

³⁷⁵ *E. C.*, VIII, p. 118, Intro.

³⁷⁶ *M. A. R.*, 1907-08, pp. 15, 55.

³⁷⁷ P. of 1368 A.D.

³⁷⁸ *S. I. I.*, IV, p. 62, No. 267.

³⁷⁹ *A. R.*, No. 38 of 1889.

³⁸⁰ C.P. of 1368 A.D.

The record of S.I. I, above referred to (Vol. IV, p. 62, No. 267) is a noteworthy poem of Devvaranya I (1406-1415 A.D.). He was a nephew of the famous brothers and himself a poet of great merit and the patron of the Kannada poet Aladbara, a native of the Kritiswami Bazaar which is on the southern slope of a hill of the Kritiswami temple in Hampi. The root of the latter merit is on a pedestal underneath a prabhâ with the Sun above it. To its right is a standing worshipper and behind him a seated bull with the Moon above it. There follows the reverse of the inscription. The Hoyasala imprecatory verse *ॐ नमः शिवाय*, etc. begins the record. Then follows the genealogy of the Vijayanagara kings coming from Sangama. Of the ministers are Aladarasa and Sayana, the chief ones and their works are praised. Their sister Simgale gives birth to Lakshmi Aladbara. This was written by Dharmaja of Harithara. Aladarasa and later on in his life famous as Vidyanayaka Sriprada of Rimgiri, of the inscription must therefore be Aladbara, brother of Sayana. The importance of this record will be considered subsequently in discussing the identity of the two Aladaras met with in the inscriptions and the literature of the period.

As regards Sayana and Bhogauntha, they, like their brother Madhava, belonged to the Advaita school of philosophy and was the author of a number of works and was the greatest of all. Sayana in former times, Sayana was considered another name assumed by him in his works. Sayana refers to his elder brother as the hereditary minister of King Balka in the opening verses of Purusatha-Sudhanidhi. Sayana is the commentator of the Purua and Uttra Mimamsa and the exponent of the meaning of the Vedas. Rao Bahadur Narasimhaachar gives

details about Sāyana and Bhoganātha in the *Indian Antiquary* for Jan. and Feb. 1916, Vol. XLV, Parts DLXV and DLXVI.

Śrīkanṭha was the guru of these brothers as well as of Sangama, whose *narma saciva* (boon companion and minister) Bhoganātha composed the Bithragunta inscription.³⁸³ Sāyana was the minister under Bukka I, Kampana, Sangama II and Harihara II as will appear from the colophons of his various works. He had three sons Kampana, a musician, Māyana, and Singana, a Vedic student. He was regent of the kingdom during Sangama's ministry, and was also his teacher. He was a warrior besides being a great and successful minister.³⁸⁴ In A.D. 1377 a gift is made, referring to them as donees.³⁸⁵ He died in 1387.³⁸⁶

The Origin of the Story of Vidyāranya

I have already referred to the origin and foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and have said that most of the accounts, whether they agree or not with the part played by Ballāla III in its foundation and the relationship of Harihara and Bukka to Ballāla, nevertheless agree in connecting Vidyāranya with the beginnings of Vijayanagara. The several traditions recorded by Buchanan culled from *Grāma paddhathis*, inscriptional references from various parts of Mysore and the old Vijayanagara Empire, the accounts of foreign travellers, and literary compositions all go to indicate that Vidyāranya Mādhava must have had something to do with the original foundation. Whether he did it himself or by exercising his influence through his guru Vidyātīrtha, that considerable assistance must have been rendered by him appears to have been the general consensus of opinion. It is indeed said that the capital of the Empire was called Vidyānagara in honour of Vidyāranya who was responsible for the foundation.

³⁸³ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 23.

³⁸⁴ *M. A. R.*, 1915, p. 89.

³⁸⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 70.

³⁸⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 71.

Now, Heras discourses the value of tradition, inscriptions
references, accounts of travellers and the name of the capital
as Vidyāmagara. He further finds the inscriptions bearing
on these to be mostly spurious and deliberate forgeries. The
story of Vidyāranyā, that he helped the foundation of the
Empire, is connected with the name of Vidyāmagara given
to the capital: and it presupposes the veracity of the legend
of Vidyāranyā. In dealing with the legendary stories about
the foundation of Vidyāmagara, he refers to Xunī's account
given by Sewell,²² to the Kolar inscription,²³ and to the
inscription of the Nellore District.²⁴ He arranges the matter
in a tabular form on pp. 5-7 of his book and gives his conclu-
sions therefrom on p. 8. According to him, Xunī gives a
more sober account than what is contained in the Kolar and the
Nellore inscriptions which give a more elaborate story of the
hare and the dog, thus suggesting a later period for their date.
The name of the ascetic is not found in Xunī and his advice
is simple. The other accounts extol Vidyāranyā: That there
and his family are buried in the Nellore gām. The Kolar
and Nellore gāmants must have come into existence during the
reigns of Āggavāra Tīraya or Śuddhivā Ḣāvya, subseqnent to the
charonicle of Xunī about 1520. Tracing no authority, Heras
claims the title of Āggavāra Tīraya or Śuddhivā Ḣāvya, subseqnent to the
reigns of Āggavāra Tīraya or Śuddhivā Ḣāvya, relying on Gopimatha Rao,²⁵

Rey. Herras enters a caveat. In the course of two lectures delivered under the auspices of the Alyssore University and since published in book-form he develops his views on this subject. He is a very critical student of history and any remarkable deservous the greatest consideration. He makes a very thorough study of the inscriptions and bases his conclusions on a close scrutiny of the authorities. If I differ from his remarks, I do so with the greatest respect.

That not much value could be attached to such traditions and legendary stories is clear from the fact that almost every ruling family has its origin under similar circumstances. The Bahamini dynasty arose on the seizure by a dog of a hare by its tail.³⁹² So was the origin of the Nāyakas of Tarikere according to Rice.³⁹³ And Heras might have also added that the Hoysalas arose from 'Adam Poy Sala' said to Sala by a *muni*, according to numerous inscriptions and Sala and the mythical tiger borne on their crest, while their original home became Śaśakapuri.

Apart from the story of the dog and the hare, there are also other traditions referring to the devotion of the shepherd Bukka to Vidyāranya, and to Mādhava discovering hidden treasure by the aid of the Goddess Bhuvaneśvarī, with which to build the capital, ruling over it and at his death making a gift of it to a Kuruba family.³⁹⁴

But Heras concludes after commenting on Suryanarayana Rao³⁹⁵ that there is no historical fact to support these traditions.

If then it should be said that whatever may be the veracity of the dog and the hare legend, Mādhava may have really contributed towards the foundation of Vijayanagara, on the authority of the inscriptions, Heras here again says that the inscriptions referring to it are not reliable. On pp. 10-19 of his book under consideration, he refers to a few inscriptions.³⁹⁶

All these refer to Vidyānagara built by Mādhava, i.e., Vidyāranya Śripāda of Sringeri Maṭha. As for the last one dated 1336 which, if true, would settle the controversy, he considers its authenticity doubtful. The South Indian collections do not refer to it and the Government Epigraphist does not know if it was ever copied and has not seen a facsimile

³⁹² *Ind. Ant.*, XXVIII, p. 218.

³⁹³ *Mysore*, II, p. 447.

³⁹⁴ *Begs.*, p. 10.

³⁹⁵ *N. F. E.*, p. 27.

³⁹⁶ *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 79, 1154; VI, Sg. 11, 1652; XI, Cd. 45, 1538;

Cl. 54, 1559; VII, Cl. 62, 1565; *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 47, 1652; *N. F. E.*, p. 9, 1336.

(p. 10)

of it. Thereas may not be quite accurate in saying that Suryanarayana Rao published it for the first time for, as I have already stated in the previous lecture, Bucchanna gives it as an account from *Gita* *paddhati*. What Suryanarayana have written perhaps as set out by Suryanarayana Rao, for as a matter of fact, now exist though not in the form of an inscription perhaps as set out by Suryanarayana Rao. For the sake of convenience, I shall refer to them both here.

According to Rambappa the date is 1333-36. When Datta Soreneta ent out of Rambanath's head and Prajapati Kudra's kinglydom was conquered by the Jalechhehas, Itatihara and Bukeka, governors of his treasury, came to Sri Mahavidyayany and to Rambappa was given to the late king and the 11th Swami visited God, and aeted according to his orders. The Alaha soothed his favour, The Alaha seven years, the whole city was built. In the year Dattu, being 1258 of the era of Valisaka, being Wednesday under the constellation Dhava, in Abijit Alaturtha, and in Stinga laguna, he took Hucca and Buceca and erownd the former in the year Kaliyuga.

1081-7571 (1991) 25: 117-125

In their essentials, the two accounts tally but it is most unfortunate that nobody else has referred to this inscription, not even Longhurst nor Narasimhachar.

According to the *Guruvamśakāvya* of Lakṣmaṇa Śāstri³⁹⁷ "when there have elapsed the years measured by 1258 (Nagashu-arka) in the Śaka era, in the year *Dhatri*, in the month of Vaiśāka in the bright fortnight, on Sunday, the 7th lunär day with the constellation *Bharani*, Vidyāranya laid the toundation of the city of Vijayanagara." There is an error in date. Week day, *tithi*, and *nakshatra* cannot be reconciled. (For references to Vidyāranya-Kālajñāna and other accounts regarding the foundation, see *M. A. R.*, 1932, pp. 110-111.)

In former times, several authorities, including Heras, regarded Mādhava's part in the foundation of the Empire as granted.³⁹⁸ Now, Heras reconsiders the position and says he was mistaken. He records his objections on pp. 14-17. He thinks, if we grant Suryanarayana Rao's inscription as of doubtful value, and observe that Mādhava-Vidyāranya was Mārappa's minister in 1347 at Chandragutti,³⁹⁹ how could the founder of an Empire be a subordinate of a viceroy at a far off place? But this argument no doubt presupposes that Mārappa's minister was Vidyāranya. Even then, what is there wrong in sending a powerful minister to an important outpost of the Empire, where fresh conquests had to be made?

Heras next considers that Mādhava could not have been an ascetic and guru at Sringeri about 1336, because in 1346 the guru was Vidyāranya's predecessor Bhārati Kṛṣṇa. Further, *E. C.* VI, Sg. 1, does not mention his name at all, while at the festival of Empire, a grant to the Mutt would mention the name of the benefactor. From this it does not appear whether he does not regard the 1346 grant as genuine and that the minister

³⁹⁷ *M. A. R.*, 1928, pp. 17, 42.

³⁹⁸ *Q. J. M. S.*, XIX, p. 23; Sewell, I, p. 106; *S. K. I., Some Contributions*, p. 309; Krishnamacharlu, *Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, 219-221; H. Krishna Śāstri, *A. S. I.*, 1907-08, 239; Suryanarayana Rao, *N. F. E.*, pp. 9-10.

³⁹⁹ *E. C.*, VIII, Sl. 375.

Madhava referred to in the later inscriptions was identical with Vidyārāṇya. Ileras then refers to the visit of Bukkanā I to Sriṅgēri in 1356, when a grant was made to Vidyātītha of Vidyārāṇya or his activities at Vidyārāṇya. Sriṅgēri and says Vidyārāṇya or his activities at Vidyārāṇya are not mentioned. Later on, Vidyārāṇya at Kasi nāgarā are also one enclosed by the senior Sriṅgēri. He gets the letter of Bukkanā I requesting him to return to Vidyārāṇya and also obeys. Bukkanā again visits Sriṅgēri with Vidyārāṇya, which he obeys. Madhava's excellent quality makes a grant which, however, does not refer to whom he makes a grant which, however, does not refer to the assistance rendered to him. Madhava's copper-plates in the foundation of E. C. VIII, Sk. 281, but no reference is made to the foundation. Besides, Harihara II's copper-plates in Sriṅgēri of 1380 praise Vidyārāṇya, as other inscrip- tions have eulogised his predecessors Vidyātītha and Bharati- tīra, do not refer to his part in the foundation. Much less do his copper-plates of 1384 describe it. A Kadila at Sriṅgēri which refers to Vidyārāṇya's death at Hampe in 1386 is equally silent.⁴⁰⁶ Even Harihara II's grant of 1386, giving from Araga, gifts lands to him without referring to his contri- bution.

The silence of contemporary records above referred to is due to Vidyārāṇya's work at Vijayanagara is conclusive on this point. How absence of reference have had anything to do with it, that he could not of the Empire, proves, according to Ileras, that he could not as regards the alleged work of Vidyārāṇya in the foundation as recorded above referred to in the Catalogue, p. 264.

400 M. A. H., 1916, pp. 56-57.
401 Ind. Ant., XLV, p. 3.
402 M. A. H., 1916, p. 57.
403 Cf. Autrecht, Oxford Catalogue, p. 264.
404 Ibid., p. 58.
405 Ibid., p. 58.
406 Ibid., p. 59.
407 Ibid., p. 59.

point is not clear. On the other hand, these records suggest the importance of Vidyāranya in the administration of the Empire and the necessity for seeking the aid of the Sringeri Matha to procure his services for the Empire. According to Heras the documents that refer to it are of a subsequent date like other 'fabricated lithic records', and therefore, Madhava-Vidyāranya's part in the foundation of Vijayanagara and the *abhiseka* ceremony of Harihara are 'wholly groundless fables'.⁴⁰⁸ He relies on Gopinatha Rao's 'independent' statement that 'Vidyāranya who rose to prominence only in the reign of Bukka and Harihara II, cannot be the person who advised Harihara I to construct the city of Vijayanagara'.⁴⁰⁹

Heras, however, concedes the following historical events in the life of Vidyāranya. In 1347 he was Mārappa's minister; in 1356 he was at Benares, whence he was sent for to return to Vijayanagara; in 1368 he was mahāpradhāna of Bukka I; by 1380 he had become Jagat-guru;⁴¹⁰ by 1384, his teachings had benefited Harihara II; in 1385, there were lands granted to him by Chikrāya; and in 1386, he died at Hampe. There was a funeral eulogy of his that year. But, he was not guru in 1346 or 1356.

Nevertheless, Heras apparently considers very strong grounds should be put forward to support his change of front and he, therefore, begins to study the origin of the story of Vidyāranya. He gives a catalogue of inscriptions from 1336 to 1669 on pp. 19-28 and works up a graph to find out the number of inscriptions giving the name of Vidyānagara to the capital. On looking at the graph to face p. 29, it will be seen that 2 inscriptions each of Harihara I, Deva Rāya II, Virūpākṣa, Narasimha, Vira Narasimha, Tirumala, Rama II and Ranga III, 3 each of Bukka I and Harihara II, 4 each of Vira Vijaya and Krishna Deva Rāya, 14 of Aeyuta and 23 of Sadāśiva refer to Vidyānagara. The name of the king, location of the

⁴⁰⁸ *Beg.*, p. 17.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 11.

⁴¹⁰ Rice, *Mysore*, I, 380.

- inscription, and references for verification are given, in chronological order. 196 inscriptions are digested, out of which 31 refer to the ancient name of *Vijayanagara* and 111 to *Vijayanagara* while only 51 describe it as *Vijayanagar*. It may be remarked that they are all inscriptions of the Vijasore State, except the following:—(1) 1336, *Kunisarkona, Nellore*, I, P. 111; (2) 1379, *City of Vijaya*, J. R. A. S., XLI, pp. 373 and 376; and (3) 1516—17, *Vijayanagar, Nellore*, Butteworth, III, p. 1181. Of these, however, only one inscription refers to *Vijayanagar*. It may be useful to note a few more inscriptions which refer specifically to *Vijayanagara* but which may possibly have been overlooked by Letters in these considerations. P. 1183. (e) Podili, 25, 1516-17 (?) *Sadasiva* on the diamond throne at *Vijayanagara*. P. 1181. (d) Podili, 21, 1551-52. *Sadasiva* on the diamond throne at *Vijayanagara*.
2. V. Raṅgācārī's inscriptions in the Mādras Presidency give the following:
- (a) Vol. I, pp. 272-73. Bellary District. Somasundaram,
132, 212 of 1913. Stone, 18-6-1556. *Sadasiva*
ruining at *Vijayanagara*.
- (b) Ibid., p. 273, Yalpi-Kaggallu. 135, 213 of 1913.
Sadasiva ruining at *Vijayanagara*.
- (c) Ibid., p. 316, 105 of 1913, 213 of 1913.
Tibid, p. 316, 104 of 1913, 213 of 1913.
- (d) Ibid., p. 316, 105 of 1913, 213 of 1913.
Tibid, p. 316, 106 of 1913, 213 of 1913.
- (e) Ibid., p. 292, 25, 168 of 1914, 213 of 1913.
Sadasiva ruining at *Vijayanagara*.
- (f) Ibid., p. 114, S. 1444, *Vijayanagara*.
- (g) Report of S. I. Epigraphist, 1921-22, p. 70, Chingleput.
185 of 1922.
- (h) S. I. I., IV, p. 40, No. 248-A.R. 35 of 1889-1545 A.D.
P. 59, No. 265-A.R. 35 of 1889-1545 A.D.
- (i) Ibid., p. 59-60, 266-1545.

3. In Mysore, the following are overlooked :
- (a) *E. C.*, XI, Mk. 5, 1556 stone.
 - (b) *Ibid.*, VIII, Tl. 152, S. 1373, stone.
 - (c) *Ibid.*, VIII, Nr. 1-2-4 1566 Nr. 5, 1552
Stone only Nr. 8 mentioned.
 - (d) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 31 is referred to. It is on the 9th stone.
 - (e) *Ibid.*, VIII, Nr. 46, 1530. Virūpāksarāya is the ruler of Vidyānagara. Vidyānanda munīsvara is referred to. Stone.
 - (f) *E. C.*, XII, Pg. 9, 1559 stone, Sadāśiva at Vidyānagara.
 - (g) *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 42, 589.
 - (h) *Ibid.*, 1924, p. 59, No. 65, 1757.
 - (i) *Ibid.*, 1924, pp. 101-2, No. 111, S 1414.
 - (j) *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 76.

I must admit an addition of these grants does not add materially to the argument either way. Heras' conclusions based on these inscriptions are summed up on p. 29. According to him, the name of Vidyānagara was little used and unknown during the period of the first or Sangama dynasty. There is only one inscription of the Saluva dynasty—1486 *E. C.* XII, Tm. 54. In the third dynasty, the name is little used at first, but later on its use increases rapidly. The climax began with Acyuta and 23 of Sadāśiva are found. The name was common under the Aravidu dynasty also.

Before commenting on the later inscriptions, the earlier ones of the Sangama dynasty may be examined. Heras, it must be noted, takes into account only those inscriptions which refer to Vidyānagara, but not those which relate to the tradition that Vidyāraṇya founded the Empire by assisting Harihara and Bukka. Between 1336 and 1486, the inscriptions examined by him are these :

- Harihara I, 1336, *E. C.* X, 241. Not genuine. Rice.
- Bukka I, 1354, *E. C.* XII, p. 74. Spurious; because imperial titles are granted to Bukka I, who sits on a jewelled throne a year before Harihara's death.

in *Tantric Historiographical Studies*, III, pp. 201-03,
in J. A. B. Sr. A. S., XIII, p. 330,
in Hegel, p. 31-32.
in M. A. H., 1912-13, p. 12.

a deliberate and intended corruption, as the result of the foreign
causes and not to be merely philological. Whereas thinks it was a
deliberate and intended corruption, as the result of the foreign

This corruption is suggested to have been due to deliberate
foreign literature Vidyāmāgara appears only later,
perhaps was corrupted into Vidyāmāgara, as far even in
sidera Vidyāmāgara to have been the ancient name which
and even today, it is said, should be rejected, as whereas con-
cludes, there are only four genuine inscriptions, if at all,
indeed.

of several grants connected with the story clearly discloses.⁴¹⁵ On an analysis of the 54 inscriptions referring to Vidyānagara with reference to their geographical situation, 1 in Nellore, 4 each in Tumkur, Kolar and Kadur, 5 in Mysore, 10 in Hassan and 13 in each of the Chitaldroog and Shimoga Districts are arrived at. 8 more inscriptions of the Mysore State, 6 of Bellary and 4 of Nellore may be added to it. However, Heras considers that Shimoga, Chitaldroog and Hassan surround Kadur, the 'focus of the fable'.⁴¹⁶ He remarks that the forgers 'were shrewd and very well-educated men, who succeeded in spreading their story throughout the Empire and in obtaining the assent of their contemporaries and successors, and even of historians centuries later'. And adds that to prevent discovery of the fraud in the place of its origin and with the object of spreading it throughout the vast Vijayanagara dominions, resort was had to fabricating them in their neighbourhood.⁴¹⁷ What follows may best be given in Heras' own words (*Begs.*, pp. 33-35, S 12) :—

"And now the common legal phrase 'Cui bono', 'in whose profit' is also to be applied to this case. Who was specially interested in the spreading of such a belief in the Kadur District? In the westernmost corner of the district there is the Sringeri Jagir, and in it the Sringeri Math. For the ascetic dwellers of this Math, the story of the foundation of Vijayanagara by one of their former Jagad-gurus would be very profitable. If such a story were once believed throughout the Empire, they could expect any reward they wanted, any lands that they could be in need of any day from the grateful successors of Harihara I, who had, so they said, been enthroned by the great Vidyāranya. The fact that this guru had been connected with the imperial family, *viz.*, with Mārappa and Bukka I, gave some historical likelihood to the fable. Moreover, the time of confusion subsequent to the overthrow of the first dynasty, seemed the best time for the propagation

⁴¹⁵ *Beg.*, p. 32.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

for the pity, selflessness, learning and reputation of its monks,
and belonging to a world-wide religious organization, known
Rev. Father Lleresa, himself a member of the Society of Jesus
I am constrained to remark that it is unfortunate that

the capital of the Empire."

second was to be the story of Vidyasankara as the founder of
perhaps the first step in this campaign of disinter-
the Math and the Emperor of Vidyasankara. This was
the wish of the dredge-boat, to show the early relations between
many a son of the dredge-boat of the Swami Alankar. The inscription shows
is the famous Vidyasankara, one of the predecessors of Vidy-
Math as an offering to Vidyasankara. The Vidyasankara
he was presenting the dredge-boat in general, granted to our Swami
Mathopadhi of Vidyasankara, who the Swami Vidyasankara when
great of his of the village of Kurnool belonging to us, in the
first, there is an inscription of the year 1563, or recording a
who directed the Swami Math from 1560 to 1560, in
was performed during the time of Mumukshudra. Bhabru
and son of all the sannyasi, great above referred to

should have thought fit to make a general indictment against the gurus of Sringeri as fabricators and forgers. The relationship subsisting between the gurus of Sringeri and the brothers Harihara and Bukka has already been referred to. Mādhava, and his brothers were prominent ministers at the Vijayanagara Court. The members of the Sangama dynasty looked to them for spiritual as well as political support. The five brothers proceeded to Sringeri in 1346, all the way from Vijayanagara, to celebrate the festival of Empire. About 1356, Vidyāranya's presence at the Vijayanagara capital was considered so important and urgent that Bukkā, afraid whether his own request would be responded to or not, went to Sringeri and desired the senior Śripāda to ask Vidyāranya to return. In 1368, he was mahāpradhāna to Bukka I and by 1380 he had become Jagad-guru and later on he benefited Harihara II by his teaching. He died at Hampe. Large grants and a funeral eulogy followed. From these facts admitted by Rev. Heras himself, the important place which the Sringeri Maṭha and its gurus occupied in the esteem and affection of the first Sangama dynasty will be apparent.

Besides, Nuniz about 1535-37 refers to the foundation, advised by the ascetic Vidyāranya.⁴²¹ This implies the existence of a tradition as an established fact long before his time. Rāmachandra Bhārati would not have been able to give it the sanctity of a tradition in a few years after 1508, the date of his succession. There would be people living who would not perhaps care very much for Sringeri gurus, and followers of other religious faiths as well, who could deny the tradition as a fabrication. Nuniz himself gives a translation or summary of a chronicle he finds in the place. People in the northern outskirts of the Empire would be least likely to countenance such forgeries. When their importance had been amply recognised by the early emperors, it cannot be said that religious recluses, occupying high positions in the temple of learning would be psychologically the very persons who would

⁴²¹ Sewell, *F. E.*, 202-98.

of charity to the world, through the boon obtained by virtue
line, author of the *Veda Bhāṣya*, *Vidyārāṇya Śripada*, out
I shall only give a translation. *Fōrmery*, the guru of our
is dated *Nandana*, *Bhūdīvapada*, Monday, lunar eclipse. It
tion of *Kudū Shambhavatā* in *Vidyārāṇyapura* *Agrahara*. It
It is a copy of a copper-plate, written in palm-leaf in the possess-
opening portion is written first in Sanskrit and then in Kannada.
2. E. C., VI, Sg. 11, 1652. *Nāgari* characters. The

to Rudra sakti.

Vidyānagarā is *Vidyārāṇya munisvara*. It besides refers
to *Rudra* sakti. *Sankara* says—having established a great ruler
asana of *Sri Sankara* what was the date of the record? This
graphic evidence, what was the record? This
or translation out of this inscription. But from the paleo-
Rice says it is very difficult to make any connected sense

—३३ श्वेषोऽपादमध्ये त्रिपुष्ट्युपैः अद्य दर्शयते ।
मूलदण्डाण्डाः ॥

—११ श्वेषोऽपादमध्ये देव्युपैः अद्य दर्शयते ॥

—१० श्वेषोऽपादमध्ये देव्युपैः अद्य दर्शयते ॥

which are as follows:—

to be spurious; श्वेषोऽपादमध्ये देव्युपैः अद्य दर्शयते ॥. See lines 10-11 and 33
to which it refers; and is that also false, assuming the grant
and it has to be properly verified. But what is the tradition
grat in the Kudū *Mātih*. Doubtless, the date is not correct
It is in rough *Nāgari* characters (*Arayakkēra*). It is a copper
1. E. C., VI, Sg. 151? A.D. Signature is *Sri Vidyā-*
imcriptions referred to by Illeras.

I shall now take you through some of the most important

Order which he founded.

the high standard of ethics that *Sankara* set before the Holy
colossal ignorance of Rev. Illeras, knowledge of *Advaita* and of
naïve fabrication and forgery by *Srinigeri* gurus shows the
. to the truth or falsity of mundane actions and therefore counts
which aimed at finding the ultimate Truth was indeed different
Also Heras, remark that the Philosophy of *Sankara*
natural presumptions and passes one's ordinary comprehension-
report to fabrication of records. Such a statement is against

of his penance from Virūpākṣa dwelling on the banks of the Pampa, having founded Vidyānagara for the protection of cows, gods, and Brahmans performed the coronation anointing of Harihara Mahārāya on the throne.

After which, at the time when the Rājādhirājā Paramesvara, a Sun to the water lilies the race of hostile kings, Vira Pratāpa Harihara Mahārāya was protecting the Karnātaka kingdom in peace and wisdom he made petition at the feet of Vidyāranya Śrīpāda in regard to the *Dharma piṭha* established by Śankara. A maṭha and an agraḥāra were established and made over to the feet of Vidyāranya Bhārati Svāmi.⁴²² In his introduction to Vol. VI of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Rice refers to this record, to Vidyāranya helping Harihara and Bukka in the foundation of Vijayanagara, to his brother Sāyana being minister of Sangama II, to the establishment of the Maṭha at Sringeri and the endowments made to it, and to the foundation of Vidyāranyapura.⁴²³ Let us compare with this record another one of the year *Vijaya, Jyeṣṭa Su. 13, 1653–54 A.D.* by Śivappa Nāyaka of Keladi to the Sringeri Svāmi of the time. It recounts the grants by Harihara onwards, inspects the *Kāditas*, examines the stone inscriptions and finds out the limits of the Jaghir. The accounts of the shanbhogs are verified and corrected. Likewise, from time to time, the Sringeri grants have been subjected to close scrutiny.

The reasons for rejecting *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 11 are not clearly forthcoming. If the facts narrated in this inscription be true, the veracity of the tradition contained in *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 79 will be confirmed.

3. *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 45, 1538. It is a stone inscription of the time of Acyuta Rāya in *Vīḍambi*, *Kartika Su. 5*, on the southern side of Dyavamma's temple in a village and contains 34 lines. Lines 6 to 8 refer to the circumstance that Harihara built

⁴²² See Rice, *E. C.*, VI, pp. 361–73.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, Intro., pp. 23–24.

ବିଦ୍ୟାରାନ୍ୟା ବିଦ୍ୟାନାଗାର ବିଦ୍ୟାନାଗାର ବିଦ୍ୟାନାଗାର
ବିଦ୍ୟାନାଗାର ବିଦ୍ୟାନାଗାର ବିଦ୍ୟାନାଗାର ବିଦ୍ୟାନାଗାର

Emprise. In respect of the 'Vidya-nagara', inscriptions we find reference or the gurus at Sringeri in the foundation of the Vidya-ranya on the records which describe the part played by attention on which we have already adverted, we shall concentrate our to which we have the name of Vidya-nagara given to the capital, inscriptions regarding the name of Vidya-nagara given to the most of them. We shall, however, pursue our survey of the effects going to the root of their genuineness are traced in most of them. There is no inherent improbability in these grants. No

Sivappa Nayaka. Certain lands are also given to others.

plate grant. It is copy on a palm-leaf. Repeats the tradition and restores the grant to Sringeri at the instance of Keldi-platé grant. .A. R., 1925, p. 47, 1652. See pp. 46-47. Copper-

5. E. G., VII, Cl. 62, 1565. This copper-plate also repeats the tradition of the previous records.

It is difficult to say how the gurus would have perhaps been to consult them at all? The suggestion will be needed to record this false story in the inscriptions. Where was the need to repeat this false story in why the donors contributed to the protituting by the grants and why the donors con-

Nayaka makes a grant to Venkata, son of Lingappa.

previous inscription regarding the foundation. Here, Holtaya devarun in a village, recording a gift of lands. It repeats the

4. E. G., XI, Cl. 51, 1559. It is another stone near Tiru-

order of the Pampala Vittipakkala Linga in the Kunthal desa. 42

shall only observe, most of them bring no gain to Sringeri and that some inscriptions (like E. C., V, Bl. 5 for instance) are to be found in Śrī Vaiṣṇava temples.

1. E. C., IV, Yd. 46, 1376 A.D. Bukka became very great with the assistance of Vidyāraṇya. 5 sheets; copper-plate.⁴²⁵

2. E.C., VI, Kp. 30, 1378 A.D. Stone inscription in Viśveśvara temple; records a grant by Vidyāraṇya on the occasion of the solar eclipse and is attested by witnesses.

3. E. C., VI, Kp. 33, 1408. Copper-plate. When Vitthanna Odeyar was governing the Araga kingdom, records a grant of 5 villages in Santalige Nad in the presence of the god Vidyāśankara, to the god Vidyāśankara.

4. E. C., VI, Kp. 34, 1386 A.D. Stone inscription. It records that Ballalla Rāya's grants are continuing. The grants of Harihara are renewed by his grandson, the cultivator of Karnātaka learning (through) Vidyāśankara of Sringeri to Vidyāśankara Deva Vodeyar.⁴²⁶

5. E. C., VI, Kp. 44, 1451. For maintaining Vidyāśankara.

6. E. C., VI, Sg. 1, 1346. Stone. Rev. Heras does not doubt the genuineness of this inscription. He draws interesting and important conclusions from it.⁴²⁷ Rice in *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* regards it as one of the earliest known inscriptions and genuine and undoubted.⁴²⁸ In his introduction to Vol. VI of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, he digests this and several other inscriptions. Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar refers to it and summarises also the Sringeri inscriptions.⁴²⁹ Thus, though Bg. 70–1336 which states how the site of Vijayanagara came into existence, may not be relied

⁴²⁵ Rice, Intro., pp. 23–24.

⁴²⁶ ಶ್ರೀ ಕೃಂಗರಿಂ ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣರ ಕರ್ಕಾರಿಪತ್ರ ವಿವಾದಿತಾದ ಉತ್ತರ ವಚನ ಪ್ರಾಪ್ತ ಪತ್ರ ಮು ಸಮುದ್ರಾಧಿಕರಿ.

⁴²⁷ See *Bgs.*, pp. 15, 92, 104 and 111.

⁴²⁸ P. 111.

⁴²⁹ M. A. R., 1916, pp. 55–59.

on as the original is not forthcoming, and Mr. 26 owing to the gaps in it cannot be fully made out, Sir J. H. says that after obediency to Vidyâvarman, with his form of celestial glory, whose friendship gained is never lost, Thirukkara having con- ORDER TO CELEBRATE THE FESTIVAL OF HIS VICTORY, MADE AN EXCELLENT GRANT OF NINE VILLAGES BELONGING TO KELA NAD IN SAMALIGE NAD TO BHARATITTHA SRIPADA, HIS DISCIPLES AND OTHERS AND TO BRAHMANS RESIDING IN THAT TIRTHA OF SRINGERI FOR THE PRO- MAANCE OF RITES AND SACRIFICE.

To the Sandals of Vidyâvarmanya Sripadada do I prostrate, it says.

7. E. C., VI, 2, 1602, Stone, Nagari characters.

8. E. C., VII, 80, Copper-plate, like Sh. 79 referred to a little while ago.

9. E. C., VII, Sk. 281 of 1362. Says Aladhabava had without trouble, on the advice of Kriyâsakti. (Does Kriyâsakti order of Bunka accepted the government as far as the western ocean in order to have an over-sight of that kingdom become incarnate in a holy man for the protection of the world, by order of Bunka accepted the government as far as the western ocean in order to have an over-sight of that kingdom without trouble, on the advice of Kriyâsakti. (Does Kriyâsakti refer to Vidyâvarman?

10. E. C., VIII, Nr. 46, 1530 A.D. Obeisance to Vidyâ-
nanda munisvara. Refers to the assembly of Virupakshayya,
Visalakirti and others. Stone. It is not clear whether Vidyâ-
nanda met with in certain manuscripts since published had
any reference to this passage, who was the son of Visalakirti.
was ruling in Vidyâvarman formerly constructed by Vidyâvarmanya,
seated on a jewel throne. It records the grant of an agatha.

11. E. C., X, Gd. 77, 1503 A.D. Copper-plate. Narasimha
for the foundation. No original is forthcoming and copy
cannot be taken to be authentic, says Rice. It may be
compared with the Ad. 158, Gd. 16, etc., in regard to the

tradition of the foundation, Vidyāranya's part therein, and the genealogy of Harihara and his brothers.

13. *E. C.*, X, Mb. 11, 1389 A.D. Stone inscription engraved on the wall of a ruined temple. It also refers to a copper sāsana relating to Vidyāśankarapura.

14. *E. C.*, X, Mb. 158, 1344 A.D. Copper-plate. Names the engraver and recounts the story of the foundation as in Bg. 70.

15. *E. C.*, XII, Kg. 43, 1380. Copper-plate. Nāgari characters. Vidyābhuṣaṇa Dikṣita gets a gift of land from Harihara II, on the Kalyāṇa Hill, who names it after his guru Vidyāranya.

16. *E. C.*, XII, p. 4, 69; Mi. 83, 11; Ck. 10, Tp. 1; p. 75 give the origin of the Vijayanagara kings, most of them in the florid composition of Sabhāpathi.

We have completed our survey of the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and shall now refer to the archaeological reports since published.

1. *M. A. R.*, 1907-08, p. 14, S. 54. It refers to an incomplete copper grant received from the inam office, where the third verse describes Harihara son of Bukka, who was the worshipper of the lotus feet of Vidyātīrthesā, in S 1308 granting a copper sāsana to three scholars, in the presence of Vidyāranya Śripāda. Reference is also made to a former grant of Chikrāya in Araga in 1381 A.D.

2. *M. A. R.*, 1915, pp. 57-58. A copper-plate kept in the Krishnarajapet Taluk Treasury is similar to *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46, 1377, and refers to the origin of the story as before. Sāyana and his son Singana are the first donees.

3. *M. A. R.*, 1916. Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar refers to 12 copper plates in the Maṭha, 12 sanads, and 500 palm-leaf manuscripts.⁴³² Of these, three belong to Harihara II dated 1384, 1386, 1397 and two to Devarāya dated 1432. A copy of a copper-plate is also found in the *Kaditas* preserved in the Maṭha. The earliest *Kadita* is dated 1380. Interesting details of former grants which are confirmed by Harihara II

⁴³² P. 17.

433 *Id.*, see pp. 58-60.
 434 *Id.*, see pp. 58-60.
 435 *Id.*, see pp. 58-60.

433 *Il.* A. R., 1916, p. 58.

in the presence of *Vidyārāṇya* are given. Of these,
 (a) Haribhara's visit with his brothers to Sriṅgeri in 1346 and
 references to Sg. I, (b) Buṅkā's arrival in Sriṅgeri to pay
 homage to *Vidyātīrtha* and references to the stone inscription
 of 1356, (c) Buṅkā's writing a letter to *Vidyārāṇya* requesting
 his return to *Vijayanagera*, enclosing the senior *Sripadā*'s letter
 to him; on his return taking him to Sriṅgeri and presenting
 to him, and (d) Chikrāya's grants, and others are detailed and
 confirmed by a copper *sāsana*.

There are, besides, three sets of copper-plates of Hari-
 bhaṇa II. (a) 1381 A.D. Genealogy of Haribhara is given
 and of his conquests and then it is said by the grace of *Vidyā-*
rāṇya Alūni he acquired the empire of kudwade unattainable
 by other kings. (b) 1386, *Vidyātīrtha*, *Vidyārāṇya* and
Bharatītīrtha are praised. *Vidyārāṇya*, according to the
 argument of the letter, is the supreme light in carnate.
 (c) 1397. *Vidyārāṇya* in the Empire of *Vijayanagera*.
 At *A. R.*, 1928, pp. 15-21. Haribhara and Buṅkā
 at Hāmpe saw *Vidyārāṇya* and, receiving his blessings, estab-
 lished their sovereignty over the Deccan. *Vidyārāṇya* was
 granted the language free from suspicion. He gave grants
 5. *A. R.*, 1929, No. 90, pp. 159-72. C.P. The paleo-
 graphy and language free from suspicion. He gave grants
 11-2-1347. *Bollarasa* (of E. C., VI, Kp. 6) prepares under
Aladhabava's orders. *Kriyāśakti* teacher of *Aladhabava* mantri
 referred to.

6. *A. R.*, 1931. The photo of the *Vidyāśankara*
 that the image at Hāmpe referred to (G. J. A. S., Vol. XXVI,
 image (Plate VII), if feet high, in *Xogā Alūdra*, would suggest
 Krishna suggests (p. 14) *Vidyārāṇya* must have been a
Karṇataka and *Vidyāśankara* perhaps a Choli.

7. *M. A. R.*, 1932. See Plate IV (2). A man who is being devoured by a crocodile praying to a linga identifiable, possibly, with Śankara (p. 11) in the light of known Śankara legends.

P. 77. Dr. Krishna says that the great mediæval Hindu Empire of Karnātaka was due to Hindu effort to defend their homes from further Muslim inroads. It was called Karnātaka from the spoken language of the people. The foundation, he says, is traditionally but incorrectly ascribed to Vidyāranya.

Vidyāranyakālajñāna : pp. 100–26. (See *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 267–68.) The details in this work are said closely to resemble the details given in *Rājakālanirṇaya* and *Sivatattvaratnākara* as well as the *Guruvamśakāvya*. The conclusions to be arrived at are : (i) Vidyāranya is different from Mādhava, brother of Sāyana, (ii) Harihara and Bukka were guards in the treasury of Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal and were serving under Kunāra Rāmanātha of Kampili or Kummatadurga, (iii) Harihara and his brothers defeated the Hoysalas, (iv) Kriyāśakti was a disciple of Vidyāranya and (v) Vijayanagara was founded in 1336 A.D.

In reviewing the *M. A. R.* for 1932 I stated that I expected to refer to these in detail in my articles on the 'Foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire'. As these matters have been discussed in the course of these lectures, it will be sufficient to set out the salient details mentioned in *Vidyāranyakālajñāna* itself. Dr. Krishna does not agree with Mr. Gopinatha Rao's disparaging view of *Rājakālanirṇaya* (p. 102). There is considerable resemblance between *Vidyāranyakālajñāna* and the narrative by Nuniz and according to Dr. Krishna, it is a genuine and standard native traditional account. According to *Vidyāranyakṛiti*, when Vidyāranya, disciple of Vidyā-tirtha, was in a cave on the Mātunga Hill, with the tantras he rebuilt the city of Vijaya. Later, when Sāyana and Māyana went to him and begged for offspring, he told them to publish works after Sāyana and Mādhava. Apart from the difference between Māyana and Mādhava, let us pursue the story. As we have observed in other accounts, we find Vidyāranya was

to be alive and the gift is to the Sri Mata. The value of the rental of 300 varahas. Sri Vidyātartha is said to Buke's visit to Sringeri in 1356 and registers a gift of the referred to in M. A. F., 1916 (p. 117, No. 2). Stone. Refers 8. M. A. F., 1933. Inscriptions of the Sringeri Jagadguru other narratives.

The story of the foundation and the date accord with surroundering the identification of Vidyāraṇya. At Hampi will have explained a great deal in the mystery Sanakara and Vidyāraṇya and should be so the image looks possible that Kriyāśakti was also a disciple of Vidyāraṇya. It is the name of his teacher and that was Vidyāśankara. It about 1386 and afterwards his disciple granted an agrahara that is a rural exclamation. Apparently, Vidyāraṇya died Sanayasa earlier becomes spiritually superior as a svāmi and Kṛṣṇa have not been explained. The younger man taking on the other hypotheses, who are Vidyāraṇya and Bharati-ramya be Jīdhabava, Bhogavantatha could not be Bharatikṛṣṇa:

No. 23 shows that Vidyāraṇya was the guru of Harihara II who acquired the empire of knowledge from him.

No. 24. Vidyāraṇyapura grant. (See *M. A. R.*, 1916.) Vidyāraṇya is the sun by whose rays the lotus Bhāratitirtha expands. Bukka I respected all the three gurus. Dr. Krishna on the basis of this grant regards Vidyāraṇya to have died at Sringeri, the tradition about his death at Hampe being a later invention. The explanation is unsatisfactory and no reasons are given. (See p. 146.)

No. 33. 1381 A.D. refers to grants to the Maṭha and to an invitation by Bukka to Vidyāraṇya at Benares with a *nirūpa* from Hiriya-Śripādangal.

9. *M. A. R.*, 1934: No. 25 registers gift of lands under orders of Harihara II to Nārāyaṇa Vājapēyi and two others in the presence of Śri Vidyāraṇya Śripāda in connection with commentaries on the four Vedas. Thus Vidyāraṇya could not be Kriyāśakti. That Bukka was influenced by the gurus of Sringeri and Mādhava and Sāyana is attested by several inscriptions (*E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46; *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256, etc.). *M. A. R.*, 1908, p. 14 refers to a similar grant. Harihara II is also the establisher of the path of the Vedas and in *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256, those three scholars are mentioned along with Sāyana.

No. 37. A stone inscription of Vidyāraṇya himself. 29-1-1386.

On pp. 141 2 of *M. A. R.*, 1934, will be found all the inscriptions of Vidyāraṇya published or noticed so far.

(a) Ulaybettu stone inscription 14-6-1375. *M. E. R.*, 1929, p. 45.

(b) Kudupu stone inscription 25-10-1375. *M. E. R.*, 1929, p. 44.

(c) *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 30, 11-6-1378. Stone. Bhaṇḍigaḍe.

(d) *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 19, 2-11-1377. Stone. Nāgalāpur.

(e) Kapilpur C.P. 1336. Butt : *N.I.*, Vol. I, p. 109.

(f) Bestarahalli C.P. 1336. *E. C.*, X, Bp. 70.

(g) Mudeyanur C.P. 1344. *E. C.*, X, Mb. 158.

(h) Hosur C.P. 1370. *E. C.*, X, Gd. 46.

[(e) to (h) generally regarded as spurious. But concerning

the succession of its sovereigns from the time of Vidhyaranya to the origin of Vidyanagara by the sage Vidhyaranya and Basavabhattipala, completed about 1709 A.D. gives the account of the two empires of Vidyanagara by Kelandi Sevarananda-nidhi.⁴¹ *Sivatattava-ananda* by Kelandi Sevarananda-nidhi.⁴² *Vaidika-purana* and *Vaidyanagaradi-dayan* refers to Vidyaipuram,⁴³ Vidyaipur and Vidyanagar are found in *Vaidikapura*,⁴⁴ Vidyaipur and Vidyanagar are mentioned.⁴⁵ *Rajjanatha Kavis Achutabhyu-Vidyaipur* is mentioned.⁴⁶ *Parijatakaphantam* by Nandi Timmauna, Naggarai.⁴⁷ In the Nandigal Province south of Vidya-samudram is formed in the Nandigal Province while a tank Burkha to be ruling from the city of Vidyanagara while a tank Burkha in the Annals of *Hannadipura*, Burkha is said

works on Vedic religion.⁴⁸

of Burkha I, set to work upon committing to writing various learned men with Alachavareya and Sayana, at the instance of Leerring to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyanagar, a body

of the Empire with Vidhyaranya.

Let us now proceed to literary references connecting the origin Having dealt with the traditional and inscriptive accounts,

of the Empire with Vidhyaranya.

E. C., VIII, No. 67.

(n) Ramachandrapura Mat C.P. Devaraya 12-2-150.

• (m) C.P. Sriingeri Harihar II. 1386. M. A. R. 1933, p. 138.

p. 14.

(l) Nam Office C.P. Harihar II. 1386. M. A. R. 1908,

. (Bombay), Vol. I, No. 2, p. 1.

(k) Hosabaili C.P. Harihar II. 1384. J. B. H. S.

(j) Sriingeri C.P. Harihar II. 1384. M. A. R. 1933, p. 132.

p. 211.

(i) Sriingeri Kadita: Harihar II. 1380. M. A. R. 1933,

evidence.]

the traditions recorded by them, Krishna Sastry finds support from other genuine records and from literary and other

as well as the length of each reign.⁴⁴² *Chicka Devaraya Vamsāvali* of Tirumalārya⁴⁴³ refers to Vidyānagara.

I have also referred previously to *Rājakalanirṇaya* which agrees with Nuniz's account of the tradition. There is a hint by Prof. Venkateswara that Vidyātīrtha may have handed over treasures and royal appurtenances to Harihara to furnish the capital.⁴⁴⁴ 'Through the influence of Vidyāranya, the kingdom of Anaikhondi was established.'⁴⁴⁵ *Koyilolugu* is a record of gifts made and repairs and additions effected to the temple of Śrī Ranganātha from the earliest times and is in Tamil prose. We there find that by the influence of Vidyāranya, Vijayanagara grew in importance.⁴⁴⁶ In an article on the *Augustan Age of Telugu Literature*, G. R. Subramiah Pantulu says that traditions are tolerably well agreed (Wilson, *Cat. of Mac. Coll.*, 83 referred to) as to the individuals responsible for the foundation and mentions Vidyāranya.⁴⁴⁷ Kittel writes an article on old Kanarese literature in the columns of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1875. There he identifies Pampāpura with Vidyānagara.⁴⁴⁸ Likewise, Fleet refers to a stone inscription of A.D. 1552–53 where occurs Vidyānagara, though he considers it a corruption of the purer word.⁴⁴⁹ In writing on the religion of the Vijayanagara house, C. R. Krishnamacharlu refers to traditional beliefs attributing the creation of the Empire and construction of the capital to Vidyāranya, with approval.⁴⁵⁰ Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sāstri refers to *E. C.* VI, Sg. 1 relating to the visit of Harihara I and his brothers in 1346 to Sringeri and remarks:

⁴⁴² Pp. 104–95, No. 50.

⁴⁴³ Pp. 302–03, No. 92.

⁴⁴⁴ *New Lights*, p. 10.

⁴⁴⁵ Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 103, note 2.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, XL, pp. 131–44 at p. 130, by K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 247.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 18–19. See No. 7–8–9.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XLIV, pp. 210–21.

of Heras cannot be corroborated in so far as the Jagad-gurus are concerned, at all events.

A general study of the inscriptions and the purpose of the several records will clearly show that the Sringeri gurus or one of them Rāmacandra Bhārati had nothing to do with the forgeries alleged. The Sringeri Mutt did not profit by it. From Harihara and his brothers, in 1346 the gurus of Sringeri got nine villages belonging to Kelanad in Santalige Nad.¹²⁴ In 1355, Bukka I came to Sringeri to visit Vidyātīrtha, possibly after the death of Harihara I, and on that occasion made a grant. The value of a part of the first grant was $502\frac{1}{2}$ gadyanas ; and Bukka's grants amounted in 1355 to $425\frac{1}{2}$ gadyanas ; a part of one and two together total 928 gadyanas. Out of this, on the occasion of the consecration of the Vidyāśankara

The great solicitude of the rulers of *Vijayanagara* and their anxiety to secure *Vidyaaranya's* presence at the capital coupled with their influence the senior *Sripada* to send a *nirupaa* to *Bengal* enjoining him to return confirm the great advised this course.

It is further probable that heads of religious institutions also made lessvars and their greatest influence in the *Kunala* country. *Ascomi* men, This will explain their appointment as *maha-* *his patriotic motives*, had marked out *Hariharra* and *Bukka* *III* had realised the turn of events and, in the abundance of himself a relation of *Hariharra*, it is not unlikely that *Ballala* *that his son was a minor*, necessitating a regency under *Ballappa*, *that it was felt that *Ballala* was getting very old and weak*, *Assuming *Alatappa**, which developed into a state within a state. *Assuming from the time of the earliest *Vijayanagara* kings to the *Sringeri* *Huge land grants and money endowments were made and relations were all devoted to *Sringeri*.**

(5) *that Hariharra and *Bukka* and their other brothers co-operated in this endeavour, and*
(6) *that leaders of other religious schools of thought madans,*

*freed from the devastating outrages of the *Muhamma* his best to establish the Hindu religion and dharma *Nayak* as well as with the assistance of others tried of his kinsmen and perhaps of the *Kakatiya* *Kisan* (3) *that, from all accounts, *Ballala III* with the help all influential in their day in the affairs of the mattha, (2) *that *Vidyatirtha*, *Bhattitirtha* and *Vidyaaranya* were *Ballalas*,***

(1) *that *Sringeri* was in the territories of the *Hoysala* From the preceding considerations, it follows:—*

Vidyaaranya's Part in the Foundation of the Empire

A

said that any one of them was a party to a forged grant. As we have shown, of all classes of people and it could not be

letters also refer to it.⁴⁶² In 1792-93, Tippu Sultan requests the guru of the Mutt to pay a visit to him and in another letter describes him as Jagad-guru who is always praying for peace, for safety for all. Glad that the Guru was coming to the capital, he writes to say that the palace is his and he is welcome.⁴⁶³ In 1795-96, Tippu is proud of three things : the blessings of god Iṣvara, of the gurus like the Sringeri Śvami and ready weapons of war. Success is attended by the blessings of the great. Letters from 1806-07 to 1867-68 invariably refer to Vidyānagari as Adirājadhāni and it is further interesting to observe that the gurus of Sringeri are Karnātaka Simhasana pratishtāpanācāryas, and also Śrimat Vidyāśankarapāda-padmārdhakas in most of the later grants and letters which are used in the place of the praise of Vidyāśankara in the inscriptions. Hence "The influence exercised by mutts as centres of learning on the religious and other literature of the country cannot be denied. The varied and well-known contributions made thereto by the famous Vidyāranya Śvami of the Sringeri Śāradā Mutt, or under his auspices, are among the most conspicuous examples of this kind. There is scarcely a branch of learning considered by Hindus as important, to which Vidyāranya or the scholars whom he gathered round him, did not make valuable contributions, and it is to his commentaries that the modern world owes its knowledge of the traditional meaning of the oldest of the sacred books—the Rg-Veda. Nor has the influence of the Mutts (at other places) on the Dravidian literature been inconsiderable....(The Śvāmis) as a whole were men of learning and piety, who adequately ministered to the spiritual wants of the community, and even now the heads of some of those Mutts enjoy the esteem of the community and continue to serve, more or less, the purpose intended."⁴⁶⁴ The gurus of Sringeri continue to enjoy in an ever-increasing degree the regard and esteem,

⁴⁶² 1777-78.

⁴⁶³ 1793-94.

⁴⁶⁴ 1904, *I. L. R.*, 27 Madras 435 at pp. 438-39 per Sir S. Subrahmanyam Iyer, C. J.

Vidyaranya's Part in the Foundation of the Empire
From the preceding considerations, it follows:—
(1) that Sriingeri was in the territories of the Hoyasala
(2) that Vidyaratha, Bharatiirtha and Vidyaranya were
all influential in their day in the affairs of the mazha,
(3) that, from all accounts, Ballala III with the help
of his kinsmen and perhaps of the Kakatiya Kisisna
Nayak as well as with the assistance of others tried
his best to establish the Hindu religion and dharma
freed from the devastating outrages of the Aluham.
(4) that leaders of other religious schools of thought
co-operated in this endeavour, and
(5) that Haribara and Bukkan and their other brothers
and relatives were all devoted to Sriingeri.

Huge land grants and money endowments were made
from the time of the earliest Vijayanagara kings to the Srimgeri
Alastha, which developed into a state within a state. Assuming
that his son was a minor, necessitating a regency under Ballappa,
himself a relation of Haribara, it is not unlikely that Ballappa,
III had realised the turn of events and, in the abundance of
his patriotic motives, had marked out Haribara and Bukkan
as coming men. This will explain their appointment as maha-
mardalasvaras and their great influence in the Kuntila country.
It is further probable that heads of religious institutions also
coupled with their influence the senior Syipada to send
their anxiety to secure Vidyaranya's presence at the capital
a nitya to Benares enjoining him to return conform the great
advised this course.

as we have shown, of all classes of people and it could not be
said that any one of them was a party to a forged grant.

and important part played by Vidyāranya in the foundation of the Empire.

When Vidyāranya, in the course of his search for his younger brother, at last arrived in Sringeri where the latter had been initiated as an ascetic by the name of Bhāratitīrtha,⁴⁶⁵ and succeeded in being himself also initiated on account of his learning, he is said to have shown his *Veda Bhāṣya* and other works to Vidyāśankara who thereupon, commending it, advised him to obtain the opinions of distinguished pandits from all parts of India.⁴⁶⁶

The actual date, if the event be true, when Vidyāranya first came to Sringeri in search of his brother from Wārangal, cannot be found out. But it will have to be fixed prior to the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. The accepted date for the consecration of Bhāratitīrtha is 1328 and Mādhava may have followed his brother about this period. After his own initiation, Vidyāranya left Sringeri with the *Veda-Bhāṣya* for Benares. On his way, he appears to have met a Brahmarākṣasi near the Vindhya range and reported the matter to Vyāsa at Benares. Under his instructions, he returned to Hampe to obtain release from the Brahmarākṣasi. This is parallel to the story recorded by Buchanan for the conversion of Bittideva into the Vaiṣṇava religion. It may possibly be that the Hindu pandits at Benares felt alike the position of Hinduism as against the all-embracing creed of Islam and confabulated on the best means of reviving the religion. Curiously enough, there is a figure of Malayāla Brahmarākṣasa alleged to have been brought by Vidyāranya to Sringeri, undertaking to feed the Brahmarākṣasa to its heart's content. The deity is to be propitiated before anything is done at Sringeri. North of the Janārdana temple in that place is a shrine of Śakti Gaṇapati and Vāgiśvarī, considered the favourite deities of Vidyāranya.⁴⁶⁶

Any religion requires peace in the country, toleration from other religionists, and patronage by the king to thrive.

⁴⁶⁵ M. A. R., 1928, pp. 16, 39.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 1916, pp. 16, 20.

Am. E. C., VI, Sg. I.

A person is not consecrated as a saint for the asking; more particularly for the Guru *Ji* in Samgoat, he will be tried and put on probation a long time; and his credentials will be examined and very closely scrutinised. Hence, it follows that the date of the arrival at Sangat may have been earlier than the date of consecration.

Vijayanagara was getting fortified and was developing into a great bulwark against Alauddin and his aggression in the south. Dabla could not have been quite unknown to Aliuddeva Ray, for near his ancient capital was the kingdom which where his brother was situated. One may perhaps even go to the length of suggesting that the Warangal ruler may have sent Aliuddeva's younger brother to Sriengar, finding his own position unsafe, in order to arrange for the protection of the Hindu religion. The brothers were hereditary ministers to the Vijayanagara kings: that they were not very poor Brahmins as stated in the Guruvamayakaraya may be accepted.

inscriptions which refer to him, subsequent to the accepted date of his consecration in 1331. If the explanation be that consecration does not imply headship of the pontifical office but only the date of initiation, then whoever was Bhārati Kṛṣṇa had only five years 1328–33 during which he was without office, for the *samādhi* or liberation of Vidyāśankara or Vidyātīrtha took place in 1333 A.D.⁴⁷⁰

Ārādhana for prominent gurus takes place in Srīngerī, except for Śrī Vidyāranya. The reason assigned is that though ordained at Sringerī as a guru of that *pīṭha*, he spent most of his time elsewhere. In the *Puṇyaśloka Manjari* of the Kāma-koṭi Pīṭha of Kānci, it is stated that Śrī Vidyātīrtha established nine Maṭhas for the propagation of the Advaita faith of which one was at Hampe and that Vidyāranya was nominated as head of that Mutt which still exercises spiritual jurisdiction over Bellary, Kurnool, Kadapa and parts of Hyderabad. This implies the importance of Vidyātīrtha at the Vijayanagara Court and the necessity for having the foremost exponent of Advaitism in his day at the capital. Perhaps, it also accounts for the part played by Vidyāranya in the earliest days of the Vijayanagara Empire. It will also be noticed that behind the Virūpākṣa temple in the Hampe ruins is a shrine containing a seated figure of Vidyāranya in the teaching pose, 1½ feet high, on a spot said to be the site of his *samādhi*.⁴⁷¹

Guruvamśakāvya records a story of Vidyāranya in which Dr. Krishna finds nothing incredible. Mādhava was a little dull and, following the advice of a woman who prevented him from committing suicide for the sake of his dullness, he continued to worship the goddess of learning and became a very learned man.⁴⁷² If between 1328 and 1331,

⁴⁷⁰

	Consecration	Liberation
Vidyāśankara or Vidyātīrtha	1228	1333
Bharati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha	1328	1380
Vidyāranya	1331	1386

⁴⁷¹ *M. A. R.*, 1920.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 16.

he was at Sringeri with the *Tirada-Bhāṣya* and other works which brought forth admiration for his learning from *Vidyā-*
विद्यावाचका there is no sequence in the account as given to infer its correct-
विद्यावाचका were under himself before his brother arrived in India.
विद्यावाचका had visited the sacred places of India
had very many years previously. His brother before he had
been born had been sent to learn to rule over the Deccan.
After crossing the river Kṛṣṇa, they had to encounter *Ballala*
their valor released and sent them to rule over the Deccan.
in battle and, being defeated in their safety. Eventually,
they succeeded in reaching *Tambrapuri*. After seeing *Vidyāvāchaka*
Ballala and, having conquered him in battle, established their
sovereignty over the Deccan.⁴⁷³ *Vidyāvāchaka*, *Tiradavva* and
Sayana, ministers of *Tirathara* and *Bukka*, visited *Vidyāvāchaka*
no children but it they published his works in their name,
the curse of sonlessness would go. That is how *Vidyāvāchaka's*
works are known as *Xāḍhavva* and *Sayanyā*. Later, on
their army, defeated *Ballala* and built *Vijayanagara*,⁴⁷⁴ in 1336.
When *Tirathara* was repelled, numerous grants were made.
The treasury was endowed by a shower of gold. After
went to *Kasi* a second time, where he established two flats.
On his suggestion, rich land grants were made to *Sringeri* and
communicated through *Jitāṅgappa*. *Vidyāvāchaka* also cured
Bukka of a terrible disease, and, in gratitude, he constituted
the *Vidyāvāchaka* temple. *Bharati Kṛṣṇa* died in the mean-
time succeeded by *Vidyāvāchaka*. A number of honours and

titles was secured for the Māṭha. Then, Harihara II accompanied Vidyāranya to Sringeri. A temple to Bhārati Kṛṣṇa was built and two agrahāras given to learned Brahmins with lands for a living.⁴⁷⁶

With reference to the wars of Harihara and Ballāla, it is unnecessary to add anything to the previous discussions on this subject. Why should the gurus of Sringeri assume a hostile attitude towards the ruler of the Empire and set up far-off Harihara of Anegondi is not clear. If Mādhava brothers belonged to Wārangal and were interested in Harihara, an officer of Pratāpa Rudra, what took them to Sringeri? Their work clearly suggests their anxiety to conserve Hinduism.

The reference to Mādhava and Sāyana approaching Vidyāranya for progeny implies Mādhava being different from Vidyāranya unless the preceptor be a mistake for Vidyātīrtha. The greatness of Vidyāranya is however recognised. The Emperor follows him to Sringeri when the guru returns with honours and titles. From the time of Vidyāranya, the pontiff of Sringeri became a Rājahamsa and a Rājaguru, consistent with the royal position which Sringeri occupied, as a state within a state.⁴⁷⁷ Dr. Krishna's remarks are noteworthy. According to him, the life of the gurus of the Sringeri Māṭha had taken quite a different turn with Bhārati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha under the influence of Vidyāranya. From Sureśvarācārya onwards down to Vidyāśankara, the chief avocation of the gurus was learning and penance. They had no Jagirs, or land endowments to manage, no rituals to observe except self-realisation and no tours to make with elephants, camels, palanquins, flags and other paraphernalia of titles and honours. With the arrival of Vidyāranya at Sringeri everything changed. With the money and material secured by Vidyāranya for the Māṭha, Bhārati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha caused the temples of Śāradā and Vidyāśankara to be constructed. Besides daily worship, special worship during Navarātri, Śivarātri and other religious festivals began. Endowments were obtained for

⁴⁷⁶ *M. A. R.*, p. 17.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

education in his country and brought thirty-two Brahmins
a king or Agnabara of Taligunda (Shanana Kunder) to promote
a kind to learn Pravacana, although he later on became
a Brahmin student Jayatra Sarmian went to
that century, a Brahmin student Jayatra Sarmian went to
in Southern India for the promotion of learning. In the
foundation in question, a number of institutions existed
religious school of which was responsible for the
although emphasis was laid upon the talents of the particular
in due course, developed into vast educational institutions,
large grants. Great religious leaders established units which
have from ages past encouraged education and learning by
Besides, kings are always great patrons of learning and

masters from abroad to train their young.

now, you will find innumerable villages sending for a school
Brahmin was a priest and a teacher to the laymen. Even
charter from a king or a religious head was necessary, no
himself. In the earliest days of Indian education, no
of knowledge have taken hold of the human mind from time
from hoary antiquity. Anxiety for learning and the spread
of learning. Missions and curmukhas in India have existed
ones like Navadvip and Kanyakubja were likewise great centres
Indian universities like Nalanda and Taxila, and the latter
learning attained students from foreign parts. Ancient
attached to monasteries and cathedrals and owing to their
• Early Western universities developed from the schools

Madhava and Kriyashakti

literature of the country.

at this period and the contributions made by the Hindu community.
The general impression about the condition of the country
language its states.

Alapta became a state with offices to collect revenue and
centre of study, contemplation and penance as formerly, the
impression upon the people. Thus, instead of remaining a calm
these and for feeding. Towns and cities scattered created an

families from Kashmir for the purpose.⁴⁷⁹ Likewise, the Agrahāra of Kuppatur was the headquarters of the Kālāmukha ascetics and was flourishing in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era.⁴⁸⁰ The Kālāmukhas were a set of Śaiva devotees who came from Kashmir,⁴⁸¹ and they generally carried a staff with them. Dr. Venkatasubbiya considers some of them followed the Śaivāgama while the others followed the Nakulāgama, as in Kuppatur.⁴⁸² In the 11th and 12th centuries, the Kālāmukhas held the headships of many Mutts and temples in Mysore and were very flourishing.⁴⁸³ In these sects, celibates were esteemed better than married men. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the Kotiśvara⁴⁸⁴ temple in Kuppatur was a prominent centre of learning as famous as Belgame and the head of the Mutt enjoyed the patronage of kings and viceroys.

The Mūlaguru of the Kālāmukhas at least in South India was *Vidyārāsi*. Śakti is a Kālāmukha ending.⁴⁸⁵ In the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings, we meet a Kriyāśakti who was the teacher or preceptor of Bukka,⁴⁸⁶ of Harihara⁴⁸⁷ and of Devarāya.⁴⁸⁸ He is evidently a rājaguru. A disciple of Kriyāśakti, Mādhavamantri purchases a village and grants it as an agrahāra naming it Vidyēśvarapura.⁴⁸⁹ The donees are all Kashmiri Brahmins, following mostly Kathāśākha of the black Yajurveda, and Rājaguru Kriyāśakti is the last Kālāmukha name found in the inscriptions.

Difference between *Vidyāśankara* and *Kriyāśakti*.

What was the Sringeri Maṭha before *Vidyāśankara* or *Vidyātīrtha*? Was it a Kālāmukha stronghold and a Lakuliṣa

⁴⁷⁹ *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 186.

⁴⁸⁰ *E.C.*, VIII, Sh. 249.

⁴⁸¹ *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 114, 19, 20.

⁴⁸² *Q.J.M.S.*, VII, p. 176, *Saiva Philosophy*; *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 96, 107, 123; *E.C.*, V, Ak. 62, *Lakulāgama*; *E.C.*, VIII, Sk. 275, 276.

⁴⁸³ *Q.J.M.S.*, VII, p. 177.

⁴⁸⁴ Is it Kaitabhesvara Temple?

⁴⁸⁵ *Q.J.M.S.*, VII, p. 178.

⁴⁸⁶ *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 1368.

⁴⁸⁷ *E.C.*, V, Cn. 256.

⁴⁸⁸ *E.C.*, XI, Dg. 23, 1410.

⁴⁸⁹ *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 282.

490 श. ज. न. स., VIII, pp. 118-36.

494 श. ज. वि. ई. स. 375.

495 श. ज. XI, डे. 23.

496 श. ज. VII, श. 281.

497 श. ज. VIII, श. 375.

Sāra Sāhitya.

2. He was also the guru of **Āśadhaवामित्रि**, in 1347.⁴⁹³ He was the king of Kṛiṣṇākī, on account of his austereies and religiousness (*tejas*), was God Śiva incarnate and to please Śāradāvāva (mantri) gave to the world *Sātāngamā*.

1. Kṛiṣṇākī was teacher or preceptor of the kings of Vidyāyanagarā, viz., Būkka I, Hārīvara II, and Devarāya from 1363⁴⁹⁴ to 1410.⁴⁹⁵ He was their teacher of *śākhā* is of opinion that Vidyāyanaya was Kṛiṣṇākī. The Dr. A. Venkatasubbāiyā in his article on *Rājaguruṇa Kṛiṣṇā-* vāraṇas differences have been drawn, to be presently considered. Kṛiṣṇākī and some other references of the time from which it be the grants of the fourteenth century to disciples of Kṛiṣṇākī and some other references of the time from unless ship between the Śringeri Xattha and the Kālīmukhas, unless there is no evidence forthcoming to indicate any relation-

reasons he gives are very important.

respective at Dvaraka, Baddari, Govardhan and Śrimgeri.

Bhadaraka, Pāṇḍavā, Vīśāladevi and Śāradā were installed observe that in the Xatthas while Śāṅkara founded, the Śāṅkara being the Xābhāvākya was expounded. It is also interesting to see that in the Xābhāvākya was established where the mystic surroun- ditions and *pīṭhas* were established where the religious discus- sions and spiritualise the masses. Reasoning entered religion, to of schools for the propagation of the tenets of Advaitism, to was Śāṅkara established by Sri Śāṅkarācārya. Śāṅkara was originally established in the four places where a joint of thought; Śringeri was one of the four places where a joint of transformed into the foundation of the Advaita school it strong hold and a great centre of learning, when and how did he was not the founder of that school. If it was a Kālīmukha 25-12-1037, as a master of logic and all other sciences, though about Jñāna t. श. ज. VII, SK. 126, describes one Lakulīśa about

4. He was a great scholar and promoter of the path of the Upaniṣads, Vedas and Śāstras.
5. He bestowed sovereignty on the Vijayanagara kings.
6. Kriyāśakti was also known by a name that began with Vidyā.
7. His death occurred about the same time approximately as that of Vidyāraṇya. When he died, he took the form of a linga Vidyāśankara.⁴⁹⁵ The inscription of 1389 refers to his death in the previous year *Vibhava* 1388 and records a grant of a village to the god Vidyāśankara established there. The village itself was called Vidyāśankarapura. I may observe that it is interesting to find the village called in this manner because the temple in commemoration of Vidyātīrtha or Vidyāśankara at Sringeri was also called the Vidyāśankara temple.

With these inferences drawn from the inscriptions regarding Kriyāśakti, if we should compare the traditional achievements of Vidyāraṇya, we shall arrive at the following conclusions. Like Kriyāśakti Vidyāraṇya was :

- (1) the kulaguru and the spiritual as well as temporal preceptor and adviser of the Vijayanagara kings,
- (2) a man of great austerities,
- (3) a great scholar and promoter of the commentaries on the Vedas,
- (4) the person who bestowed sovereignty on Harihara, after establishing the kingdom of Vijayanagara, and
- (5) he died in 1386 A.D.

The points requiring explanation before concluding as to the identity of Vidyāraṇya with Kriyāśakti are the following :

- (1) Vidyāraṇya's death is 1386 ; Kriyāśakti's 1388.
- (2) Why should Bukka (crown prince) desire to commemorate Kriyāśakti ? Was it because like Mādhavamantri, he was also his disciple ?

⁴⁹⁵ E. C., X, Mb. 11.

and Kriyāśakti can be explained from the fact that years in the dates given for the deaths of Vidyāraṇya in this period was Vidyāraṇya. A difference of two having this name approximately, who died about we look round, we shall see that the guru of Sriingeri in the suggestion of Mr. Narasimhaachari.⁴⁶ If same had a prefix Vidyā. This is indeed implied sāṅkara, it must be in commemoration of one whose (3) But, since the renaming of the village was as Vidyā-

any inference that Kriyāśakti was Vidyāsāṅkara. 1333 A.D. Alubagai II, therefore, does not lend the building of the Vidyāsāṅkara temple about after 1356. His death was commemorated by later died in 1333, at any rate he was not alive (2) Kriyāśakti could not be Vidyātritha because the periety to the country.

(1) Bukkan had every reason to commemorate Kriyāśakti because he was the family guru who brought pros-

be summarised:—

On all these points, Dr. Venkatasubbaya has very remarkable statements to make. While referring the interested reader to his article for a detailed study, his reasons may able statements to make. While referring the interested reader to his article for a detailed study, his reasons may be behind the Vidyāpikkā temple, and to these have to be added literary references.

(5) The *sāmāḍhi* or tomb of Vidyāraṇya is in Hampī māṭṭājanas at Sriingeri.

Hariharā II gave the Vidyāraṇya grant to the after several years, when he died at Hampī in 1366, coupled with a *niriyā* from the senior Śrīpāda and, came to Vidyānagarā at the request of Bukkan I, 1916, p. 58, Vidyāraṇya who was at Benares in 1356,

(4) According to the copper-plates referred to in Jl. A. F.,

tritha himself?

(3) Since the village was given the name of Vidyāsāṅkara-

Saka dates do require correction for accurate verification. Here, I must remark that Vidyāranya was guru to Mādhavamantri will also have to be established, before identifying him with Kriyāśakti, for obviously Mādhavamantri could not be Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyana. Much less could he be Vidyāranya himself. This fatal objection to the Kriyāśakti theory has not been considered by Dr. Venkatasubbaiya.

(4) Regarding Harihara's copper-plates, their genuineness, he says, has to be proved. Dr. Venkatasubbaiya controverts the statements in the grants from the stone inscriptions. I do not think there are such irreconcilable differences as he makes out. Further, no reasons are given to declare them spurious. What are these inscriptions?

(a) 1386. Grant to three scholars by Harihara II in the presence of Vidyāranya because they helped in the commentaries of the four Vedas. Grant is made at his instance and in his presence. Vidyāranya must be the Mādhavācārya connected with *Veda-Bhāṣya*. Dr. V. says that Harihara's gift of lands in the presence of Vidyāranya, thirty-four days later contradicts its genuineness. Apart from the verification of Śaka dates required for purposes of accurate calculation, supposing it was a kind of grant before death, actually made at the time, but really engraved later on, the scribe putting down the date he wrote on, I do not know how Dr. V. would get over it.

(b) Another objection he takes to C.P. of 1386 is that the succession list is here transposed between Bhāratī Kṛṣṇa and Vidyāranya.

(c) The third objection is that the suggestion that Vidyātīrtha was living in 1356 discredits the veracity of the grants relating to Bukka's requests to Vidyāranya to return, for on the occasion of the consecration of the temple of Vidyāśankara, in memory

(e) *Madhabavacaryā's* son *Aḥobala Paṇḍita* mentions *Dhātu Viṭṭi* and commentaries on the four Vedas

Dr. Venkatasubbaya.

same tradition as the authorship of the other, says *Vaiyāsikā-nūḍiyā-nūḍītā-viṣṭitā*. This rests on the *rāṇya's* verses is said to relate to *Madhabavacaryā's*

(b) Claim for *Vyasa Sūtiā Viṭṭi* being based on *Vidyā-*
subject or as a book.

that *Vidyārāṇya* dealt with it is certain, either as a
is the only connection. However, I must remark,
to a subject and not to a book. In any case, tradition
comment is that *Kaṭāññuayā* in the *śloka* refers
well-known work of *Madhabavacaryā*. The doctor's
according to Mr. Narasimhachar *Kaṭāññuayā* is a
has been dealt with by *Vidyārāṇya* and others and
Vidyārāṇya.

(a) *Tithi-prādyakṣa* of *Narasimhaṣṭri* says *Kaṭāññuayā*

Mr. R. Narasimhachar's views regarding the author-
at a conclusion that *Bharadvāja* *Madhvava* is
ship of the commentaries of the Vedas, in arriving
Dr. Venkatasubbaya next subjects to scrutiny

(6) Dr. Venkatasubbaya next subjects to scrutiny

stokamāṇḍūjā, it may be observed, gives a different
is unrelatable and we may leave it aside. *Pūṇyā-*
to *Vidyārāṇya*, *Aksobyatīttha* and *Vedānta Deśika*
Dr. Venkatasubbaya says that the incident¹⁹⁷ relating

does not say that *Vidyātīttha* was alive in 1356.

In this connection, I must observe, with reference to
Dr. Venkatasubbaya's remarks that Mr. Narasimhachar

rāṇya succeeded *Bharati Kṛṣṇa*.

E. C., VI, Kp. 30, 11-6-137S (stone) mentions *Vidyā-*
25, as the senior and more illustrious of the two.
tīttha which would have been the case were he
Stringeri at the time. There is no gift to *Vidyā-*
Sg. 1, 13-16 proves *Bharati tīttha* was the pontiff of
of the guru, he is said to be in existence. E. C., VI,

as done by Vidyāranya, that he established Harihara as king, and that Sarasvatī had incarnated in him. These, however, were the works of Sāyana, son of Mā�ana, as the introduction and colophon will show. At the most, it will show that Vidyāranya was Sāyana. We must remember, says the doctor, that at most it is tradition and it makes Vidyāranya, Sāyana and Mādhava appear the same person. According to him, neither Mādhava nor his brother Sāyana had anything to do with the establishment of the Vijayanagara kingdom, and none of these books was written by Vidyāranya.

- (d) *Pancadasī* ascribed to Bharātitīrtha and Mādhava, cf. Rāmakṛṣṇa's commentary and the Sringeri titles of Bhāratitīrtha. Dr. Venkatasubbaiya considers the inference far-fetched.
- (7) There is nothing to negative the theory that because of the gift in the presence of the guru, Vidyāranya is not identical with Kriyāśakti. Such a thing is not unusual.⁴⁹⁸ This does not imply Mādhava to be Vidyāranya but only that Vidyāranya was the guru of Harihara and was Kriyāśakti.
- (8) Dr. Venkatasubbaiya refers to Mādhava's connection with commentaries on the four Vedas and refers to the introduction of the *Rk Samhita*. There it is said that Bukka enjoined on Mādhavācārya to publish a commentary expounding clearly the meaning of the four Vedas, that Mādhavācārya said his brother Sāyana knew about the work and he may be asked to do it ; on being ordered to do so, the compassionate Sāyana undertook the work. Dr. Venkatasubbaiya says that the guru and *sanyāsi* could not have been ordered about, that an ascetic would not refer to the other of his pūrva-āśrama and that, therefore, Mādhavācārya referred to

⁴⁹⁸ E. C., VI, Kd. 16, 21, 23, 28, 30, 34, etc.

203 E.C., VII, SK. 281, cf. Badavase Record.
202 निरुक्ता, विद्वि. इन्दू, गुरुरात्मामादिता अन् सुसामा.
202 Max Müller, Rig Veda, VI, p. 4.
202 H. C., X, Jib. II.

(ii) बुक्का II गोमान्नोराते विद्येसवारपुमा. 203

et c. 502

(i) He had a name like विद्यासन्करा, विद्याराण्या,

ships, we find all these in क्रियासक्ति.

and बुक्का, that he was noted for his ascetics and scholar-
विजयनगरी राजपत्र, that he was the family guru of Harithara
tion and except the tradition that विद्याराण्या established the
्यपोत्थेसिस of खरासिम्हाचार about खलद्धावाचार्या's contribu-
If we, therefore, says Dr. Venkatasubbiah, exclude the

of 1386.

of the commentaries contained in the copper-plates
helped खलद्धावाचार्या and शायाना in the composition

(f) Mr. खरासिम्हाचार's statement that several scholars
(e) देवितजा is himself anterior to शायाना, and so

of the above,

(d) खलद्धावा referred to by खलद्धारा may be any one

86—१ may be खलद्धावा of देवितजा.

(c) खलद्धावाभट्टा referred to by शायाना in R.V., X,

is anterior to खलद्धावा, brother of शायाना,

(b) खलद्धावा देवा of वेदा भृग्या consulted by देवितजा

वेनकाटाचार्या, 500

(a) खलद्धावा cited by देवितजा in the introduction to
his commentaries on the निघन्तु is the son of
may be summed up and explained :—

The literary references on which reliance is placed for
the identity of खलद्धावा, brother of शायाना, with विद्याराण्या
with विद्याराण्या.

(g) हरिहरा II, describes himself as worshipper at the
lotus feet of क्रियासक्तिदेवा. For obvious reasons,⁴⁹⁹
बुद्धावामान्त्रि of अंगिरासा गोत्रा cannot be identical
not say.

cannot be विद्याराण्या. But who he is, he does

- (iii) Foundation of an agrāhara Mādhavapura b.
Mādhavamantri on his death-bed. He is succeeded by Narahari, a disciple of Vidyāśankara.⁵⁰⁴
- (iv) Austeries—*tapas* or *tejas*—incarnation of Śiva mark him out as holy.⁵⁰⁵
- (v) Author of several works.⁵⁰⁶ Prominence by disciples to Vedas, Śūtras and Upaniṣads.
- (vi) Connection with royalty—Kulaguru.⁵⁰⁷

Therefore, Vidyāranya is Kriyāśakti and a successor of the well-known Vāmaśakti of Kedāreśvara Maṭha at Belgame. But these conclusions of Dr. Venkatasubbaiya do not solve the headship of the Sringeri Maṭha by Vidyāranya. It is the fundamental difference in teaching between the Kriyāśakti and Sringeri schools of religious thought that led, among others, Mr. Narasimhachar to consider that Mādhavamantri could not be Mādhavācārya or Vidyāranya. The learned doctor attempts to meet this question thus :

"It is believed that Kālāmukhas were Agamic Śaivas who placed the authority of the Āgamas above that of the Vedas, while the Sringeri Maṭha is known to be the stronghold of the Vaidik Śaivas, who reject the authority of the Āgamas, and accept the Vedas only as authoritative. This belief about the Kālāmukhas does not appear to be entirely justified. In the 11th to 13th centuries, they were in a flourishing condition and practically had a monopoly of the leaderships of the Maṭhs and colleges in the Kanarese country, and were liberally patronised by the ruling kings. As it cannot be seriously argued that Vedic Śaivism was dead or moribund in that period, and that the rulers of that period were accustomed to dispense their patronage to heretics only," we must take it that Kālāmukhas did not deny the authority of the Vedas. For, in an earlier period, Vāmaśakti had arrived at the final meeting of the Vedānta and of the *Dharma Śāstras*

⁵⁰⁴ E. C., VII, Sk. 281.

⁵⁰⁵ 5-4-1931, J. B. Br. A. S., IV, p. 115.

⁵⁰⁶ E. C., VIII, Sb. 375; VII, Sk. 281; X, Mb. 11; XI, Dg. 23

⁵⁰⁷ E. C., VIII, Sb. 375; VII, Sk. 281.

with *Vidyaaranyya*, as attempted by Dr. Venkatasubbaia,
succeeded in showing that *Kriyashakti* cannot be identical
to describe *Angirasa Madhava* as *Vidyaaranyya*. If we have
attempt is still made by Mr. V. Subrahmanyayyer, for instance,
and the religious school of thought to which each belonged,
account of difference in parentage, *gotra*, *sutra*, achievements,
feet in identifying *Madhavamantri* with *Madhavacarya* on
guessed by scholars in several articles. Where difficulty is
manifest and of either of these with *Vidyaaranyya* has been dis-
mantled and of *Aladhaavacarya* and *Madhava-*
The subject of the identity of *Aladhaavacarya* and *Madhava-*
with Reference to Literary and Other Evidence Available
Madhavacarya and Madhavamantri—Identity Discussed

subbaia that *Kriyashakti* and *Vidyaaranyya* are identical.
which would support the view propounded by Dr. Venkata
pillgrimages and his return with a Brahmarakshasa to Sriugeri,
it an inference could not be drawn from *Vidyaaranyya's* northern
upon with the prelude of the secretary. ^{as} I do not know
notions of *Advaita* religion where *Vishnu* and *Siva* are not looked
oberves, minister *Aladhaava's* pure Shaivism is opposed to the
Venkatasubbaia looks a little far-fetched. As Krishnamasthi
creation of *Kriyashakti* with *Vidyaaranyya* attempted by Dr.
Narahari and his *sisyus* at the *Vijayanagara* palace, the identity
and however brilliant his disciples *Aladhaavamantri* and
ever influence he may have exercised over *Bukka* and *Talarihara*
acted above, however great *Kriyashakti* may have been, what
himself to this aspect of the question. But, as we have indi-
cating the identity of the two *Aladhaavas* has not applied
. *Aladhaava* with *Vidyaaranyya*, even if he could not succeed in estab-
lishing *Subrahmanyayyer*, in his anxiety to identify *Angirasa*
unimportant work on the *Advaita Vedanta*.^{as}
Mr. V. Subrahmanyayyer regards *Gatipatra* as an
his teachings were unacceptable to the *Vedic* *Shavas*, and even
if *Kriyashakti* were an *Aggamic* *Shavas*, it cannot be said that

perhaps developing a casual hint of Mr. Narasimhachar that Kriyāśakti referred to in the inscriptions may be Vidyātīrtha and on the fact that a Vijayanagara princee is referred to in one place as the disciple of Kriyāśakti Vidyāranya without a conjunction between the two words, then it follows that Kriyāśakti's disciple Mādhavamantri who died in the Kanara District in 1392-93 cannot at all be Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyana, much less Vidyāranya. Without denying impartial qualities or political association to Mādhavācārya who became Vidyāranya, it may be confidently asserted that during the period that Vidyāranya was occupying the pontifical office at Sringeri, Mādhava Amātya was waging war, governing the country and obeying orders from the king, thus clearly negativ- ing the identity of Vidyāranya with him. There is nothing to indicate that his relations with the gurus at Sringeri were other than amicable or peaceful. He must have been very well known in the environs of Sringeri and probably have met Mādhavācārya, the Vidyāranya Mahāsvāmi. He gave many villages to Brahmins bordering on Sringeri and his influence was great in Tirthahalli, Shikarpur, Banavase, and the regions of the west coast. He was an active propagandist, built Śiva temples and published various works so much as to become known as the propagator of the Upaniṣadic faith and *praliṣṭha* guru. From one of his works, he was called the establisher of the Karnātaka Rājya.

Sūta Saṃhitā is one of the most fundamental works on the Advaita Vedānta on which Śaṅkara bases some of his strongest arguments, while he made a repeated study of it before writing the commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*. *Tātparya Dīpikā* is a commentary by Āngirasa Mādhava and it is upon this Mr. Subrahmanyam Iyer concludes Vidyāranya must be this Mādhava.

This Mādhava was the son of Cāvunda bhatta and of Mācāmbikā. He was a disciple of Kriyāśakti. He was a minister under the early Vijayanagara kings. He was a very Tryambaka, excelling Bṛhaspati in wisdom, teaching the essence of Śaivāgama after a study of the Vedas, Purāṇas,

• 692, A.D.

The place of Bharadwaja Aladavava's birth is not yet definitely known. Some say he belonged to a poor family of Brahmins residing in Warangal. His parentage and gotra and his connections with the court of Vijayanagara on one hand, and his relationship to Sayana and Bhogavattha on the other, have already been referred to. He is described as the establisher of the Karnataka Empire or Vijayanagara, and associated with the Adavati or non-dualist school of philosophy thought like Vidyaranya, as a teacher and fore-most exponent of it, but he is not considered a warrior, conqueror or author of all the works attributed to him. While his brother Sayana was a minister under four kings, Aladavava's activities were non-secular or spiritual. It is said that there is no indication of his connection with the Sringerि reigion, carrya's activities were non-secular or spiritual. It is said that no evidence of any title of Acarya bestowed upon him though he was called so, to propagate work or Vedantic authorship to his credit, no evidence of Vedantic scholarship though he was

calling it Vidyasankarapura.

and Samhitas, as early as 1347. He is referred to in several other grants up to 1391.⁵¹⁰ He was a Brahmin of the Angirasas gotra and Apastamba Sutra. He is described as a warrior, conqueror and builder of an Empire, writer of Goa from the Pundarikadas and heroic minister. When he was appointed ruler of Araga, he was the incarnation of the power of Buleka. His gifts to Kashmira Brahmins under E. C., 281 (1368)⁵¹¹ confirm his devotion to Kriyashakti school. On the death of Kriyashakti in 1388 and his transformation into a linga as Vidyashankara, he makes a gift of a village in Avanti Nadu.

and in *Puruṣārtha Sudhānidhi*, Sāyana describes his elder brother as hereditary preceptor and minister of Bukka I and compares him as Bṛhaspati to Indra. One of the inscriptions describes Mādhavamantri in identical terms, thus showing that both Mādhavācārya and Mādhavamantri were held in the same esteem by Bukka at the time.

Mādhavācārya died in 1386,⁵¹² if he was Kriyāsakti in 1388; but Mādhavamantri died about 1392-93, if not in 1391.⁵¹³ Mādhavācārya died at Hampe⁵¹⁴ while Mādhavamantri died in the western parts. When we do not hear of Mādhavācārya at all but of Vidyāranya, we continue to notice Mādhavamantri as governor, commander, warrior under the orders of Vijayanagara kings.

Therefore, while the two Mādhavas were contemporaries serving under the same king, perhaps, authors with attainments in the same school of philosophy, both Brahmins and perhaps (according to Mr. Subrahmanyam Iyer) belonging to the same sect or community, the inexplicable difference

⁵¹² *E. C.*, X, Mb. 11 pura.

⁵¹³ Heras, *Q. J. M. S.*, XIX, p. 14, Beg., pp. 97-98.

⁵¹⁴ *M. A. R.*, 1016, 97.

⁵¹⁵ *J. B. Br. A. S.*, IV, p. 115. Dr. Krishna doubts it.

I am aware of the circumstances that in older times, even in Srimgeri, the practice of people taking up sanyasa in old age existed and, as such, there is not much in the statement of Mr. Narasimhaachar that Madhavaacarya who was a sanyasi could not have taken the mendicant's staff for a sword, but the impossibility of it in 1390 is clear as he was dead four years previously to Madhavaacarya's subjugation of the Muham-
madans of Goa.

The theories of adoption and the two gotras included in the Tigrayarisheya groups put forward by Mr. Subrahmanyam later likewise are held by a broken reed. There is no evidence that Sayana was given in adoption and the parentage and achievements conduct along with other outstanding features with the identity of Madhavaacarya as Vidyaaranya.

no wish to raise it up again.

in dates and achievements, gold and Parvatiya cannot be
explained away by a mere negligence to exclude the Kannadis
inscripition from consideration or a statement that literary
differences such as we have already referred to are interpolations.
Further, that Alaudhavamahartri who is also called
Aladarasa is not identical with Alaudhavadevaraya from
the fact that when Vidyanayaka went to Sriingeri, Bukkan directed
Aladarasa to make a grant.⁵¹⁰ Alaudhavamahartri was a pro-
vincial governor and never a suvayasi, while Alaudhavadevaraya
became Vidyanayaka after renouncing the world. When
not Vidyanayaka makes a gift he calls it Alaudhavapura and
minister Alaudhavava makes a gift he calls it Alaudhavapura and
or Vidyanayaka is further clear because a copper-plate of Harihar
says Alaudhavamahartri gave a grant of lands in 1386 to three
scholars, promoters of the commentaries on the Vedas in the
presence of Vidyanayaka. He cannot make a grant referring
to himself in another place of the same grant as Vidyanayaka.
That Vidyanayaka may not be Kriyavasakti, we have shown
already. If we should say that Vidyanayaka is not Alaudhavava-
caraya, the possibility of Savyasa will turn up as a claimant.

It, therefore, follows that Bhāradvāja Mādhava, brother of Sāyana and Bhogaṇātha, hereditary guru and minister at Vijayanagara, was the great Vidyāranya.

General Remarks on Vidyāranya

I have endeavoured to show how, according to tradition and history, tested by circumstantial evidence, from the earliest times the house of Vijayanagara was connected with Virūpākṣa, their family god. The connection of Vidyāranya with the kings and the influence and importance of his personality at the court of Vijayanagara have been described in detail. It is not improbable that Vidyāranya used to perform penance on the hills at Hampe, leading a very austere life and worshipping Virūpākṣa.⁵¹⁷ While the royal line and the imperial city are gone, the fame of Vidyāranya and his glory continue undiminished for ages.

Whether he was born at Wārangal or at the Virūpākṣa kṣetra, whether he was a Telugu Brahmin or a Hoysala Karnātaka, his greatness is universally acknowledged. He appears to have taken *sanyāsa* when he was about 63 or 64, in 1331, according to *Guru Parampara* and does not seem to have stayed at Sringeri for any length of time, though according to another account he always lived at Sringeri. His guru Vidyātīrtha was originally in Kānci, where he was head in 1296. When he came to Sringeri is not known. That Vidyāranya was at Hampe and was considered a very important factor in the solidification of Hinduism is attested by every tradition and inscriptions speak to the regard in which he was held by the kings and how they felt the necessity for his presence and appealed to the senior Śrīpāda to get him to the Vijayanagara capital.

Vidyāranya's friendship with the heads of other religious schools like Vedānta Desika and others was useful in cementing the scattered elements in Hinduism. He realised that without a powerful Hindu king interested in the religion of his

⁵¹⁷ M. A. R., 1916, pp. 94-95.

of Vijayanagara must have been, then strengthened on this or bolder state between the Sultan and himself. The fortresses soning of his forts then began, for there is no other intermediary upon Warangal and in another two years Warangal and Kampli fell. Movements of Ballala to his northern frontier and garrisoned upon Warangal and in 1326. The Sultan's army advances in his dominions till 1326. The Sultan's army observes Dorasamudra to its ancient position in 1316, and has restored Dabir, he goes to Delhi in 1310, returns in 1313, restores Vidyanagara; If we follow Ballala III's movements we shall When did Alaudavacharya take sanyasa and becomes

may be attributed to it from the Nellore grants.

admit my inability to explain this position, though support refer to Vidyanagara, but in this connection, I must frankly relating to the agriculturists and temples in Avanti Nada no doubt It is said that he died there and the references in A.D. 11 Avanti in the Aluṅgāl Rājya and founded a Jātiya there. When his work was complete, he became a sanyasi, came to initiation of the newly-found Empire and that very late in life, He was only a layman, connected with the day-to-day admini- Alaudavacharya his brother had no connection with that Jātiya. There is a tradition that while Sayana was guru at Srimgeri builder.

empire but, nevertheless, he was a great statesman and empire flourished in peace. Vidyanagara did not construct a military and villages to manage, so that the Hindu dharma might henceforth, with honours and titles to its guru and vast lands greatest importance. The Jātiya developed into a lineage capital after him and by raising prince into a limit of the contribution in the foundation was aply reorganized by naming Hindu Empire where Arya dharma may have sway. His befitting Tirtha to achieve the political purpose of a rulers of Vijayanagara. There is nothing strange in this the king over Ilampē. Alaudavacharya, as we have observed, has been described as hereditary preceptor and minister to was himself a Tigrasala feudatory while the Tigrasala King was no religion could thrive. He was not new to Tirtha who motherland and able to control disorder and introduce peace,

side of the river Tungabhadra, where he established himself in 1339. Deducting seven years from this date, we get 1331-32. Probably by this time, Mādhavācārya felt secure and took *sanyāsa*, continuing to help by his presence and advice in the construction of the great edifice. But this, of course, is a conjecture.

Mādhavācārya was an extraordinary character whose fame increases with the march of time and develops into an enigma. Exact and extensive knowledge of the Vedas was his. He was excellent in Brahma Vidyā. He had varied literary and religious activities. His political philosophy was of a rarely practical type and in a period of political and religious turmoil he ushered into existence a powerful Hindu Empire.

The Vidyāśankara temple was built on the spot in 1336 where Vidyātīrtha entered into the Lambika *yoga* in 1333. The date generally given to Vidyātīrtha is 1296-1384 but that is incorrect according to *Guru Parampara* and is the result of mistaking Vidyāraṇya for Vidyāśankara. It is also said that Vidyātīrtha lived for seventy-three years at Kānci. Except from the inscriptions referred to in these pages, it is not possible to confirm or deny this statement. As he is credited with the revival of the Sringeri *pīṭha* whose influence had waned under the Lingayats, his advent to Sringeri must be taken for a fact.

There is no one to compare to Mādhava amongst the gurus of Sringeri in learning. But for him, the Vedas would have been a sealed book to Sanskrit scholars. He was versed in Sanskrit lore, deeply learned in the Vedāngas and well-acquainted with the nature, origin and significance of the archaic forms in which the Vedas so greatly abound. He had attained a mastery over the subtleties of accent known as Svaraprakriya, was amply gifted with a capacity for the perception of the subtle and the indefinite, and he was thoroughly conversant with the Hindu mode of thought and writing. His encyclopædic knowledge enabled him to comprehend the Vedas in their true light.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, p. 219.

As we have seen, the interregne strife struck amongst the Hindu rulers in the North paved the way for the Moslem invasions and, in spite of some brilliant episodes now and then, shortly India ultimately became subject to the Alchamadan yoke. Opportunities for plunder were freely availed of by the Saracens of Delhi. The campaigns of Jalal Kaffur and Aliuddin laid waste rich tracts of Southern India up to the Cape, taking advantage of dynastic strifes and unceasings animosities amongst the rulers of the South Indian kingdoms. Death and desolation and plunder at the capitals: destruction of temples; conversion of Warangal, the Hoyasala Ballaras of Dora, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, the Yadavaas of Deogiri, Prophets, followed in the wake. The Yadavaas of Deogiri, Sarvadra, the Kshas of Kampli and the Pandavas in the far South were unable to withstand the aggressor. Deogiri and Warangal became subordinates to the Sultanate at Delhi. The Kampli Kingdom was overthrown and its ruler slain. On attachment to give succour and protection to Bahauddin, a nephew of the Sultan, the Ballala was attacked and his capital Dvarasamudra sacked. Thereafter, naturally, these South Indian potentates nursed a grievance and waited for an opportunity to assert themselves. The internal condition of the Empire to assent the Sultans. The internal condition of the Empire at Delhi under Sultan Alchamadan provided the opportunity to Vidyaranya as the foremost of them, were anxious to guard and protect Hindu religion and dharma. Ballala III was endeavoured to strengthen his position and bring about an understanding amongst the religious priests for the unification of the South. From these united efforts was founded the Empire of Vijayanagara.

and to provide for it a peaceful home. In this great work, a number of prominent men of all religions played a part. Mādhava, Sāyana, Bhogañātha, Kriyāśakti, Mādhavamantri, the great and universally revered Vidyātīrtha, the heads of other religious faiths and prominent rulers like Ballāla, perhaps the Kākatiya Kanya Nāyaka and the feudatory nobles Harihara and Bukka were amongst these. Krishnadevarāya, it is said, found Brahmins especially useful as administrative officers in both civil and military departments. They 'were scholars, afraid of *adharma*, well-versed in *rāja nīti* and offered to rule accordingly'. A Brahmin 'would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kṣatriya or Śūdra.' Therefore, it was always 'advisable for a king to make Brahmins officers'. The strength of the Hindu civilisation was manifested in the culmination of this national effort for their preservation. Like the love of country with the enemy at the gate, love of religion takes hold when it is fiercely attacked from without. Such a love appeared in the Karnātaka country in the fourteenth century, long prior to the development of the national idea in Europe.

The old Hindu temples and Mutts fostered such a spirit, as powerful, social and economic centres for these movements besides being a source of religious inspiration. They were corporations where the co-operation of the people of the locality, aided with royal patronage, was possible. They had the courage to give independent and timely advice, unhampered from any mercenary motives, and because of the source of such advice, the difficulty of opposition to it was great, if not often impossible. These were, therefore, common meeting grounds for the ruler and his subjects providing opportunities for a cordial and healthy co-operation.

As I have said elsewhere, the dismemberment of the Hoysala dynasty was the result of the Muhammadan invasions and the rise of Vijayanagara, under Harihara and Bukka, once its vassals and feudatories. The Hoysala dynasty was thus continued in the Vijayanagara Empire which was the

direct outcome of a sovereign ruler of Abyssore, Vira Balabda III
 to secure national liberty in the South by making to be the
 capital of Empire his new foundation of Vira Balabda III.
 As we know the relationships between the kings of Abyssore
 negro and the rulers of Abyssore, it may appropriately enough,
 be said, it was again Abyssore that survived probably to con-
 tinue the tradition of Abyssore occupying the throne of
 the patriotic sovereign Vira Balabda III who devoted his life
 to the cause of Indian and made it possible for the South
 Indian Tuluva to be the Tuluvas they are to-day. From
 this time when Tuluva Wadivir of Abyssore overcame Prabhadeva
 and settled himself on the swollen throne, the virtual indepen-
 dence of Abyssore may be said to have been reconstituted.
 Therefore, a master of profound prudence to us, in Abyssore,
 as I am sure it is to all Tuluvas, that "This Tuluva is the Adequate
 of Abyssore is an ornament to the illustrious throne of the
 patriotic Tuluva Vira Balabda III and that by his noble example
 as a foremost Tuluva of Tuluvas of our times, stimulates his
 subjects to be the Tuluvas they are to-day."

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